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The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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The Molding of the Middle West

THOMAS J. WERTENBAKER *

NOTHING good ever came out of the East," a midwestern lady once remarked to Dean Andrew Fleming West. "Not even the Westerners?" asked the Dean. He might with equal propriety have asked whether it had occurred to her that the Christian religion, representative government, the English language, the bill of rights had come to the Mississippi Valley from the eastern states. This good lady was but one of a numerous company, for only too many of our historians, many of them writers of distinction, have minimized this vital factor in the creation of our great West. Yet for the region beyond the Appalachians, the Atlantic seaboard and the Piedmont was the mother country, the hive from which its people swarmed, the source of its civilization.

We can gain an insight into the development of western civilization by a study of the forces which created the Atlantic civilizations, out of which it sprang.

There were four of these forces—the force of inheritance, the force of local

*Presidential address delivered at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Cleveland on December 28, 1947. The author is professor emeritus of history in Princeton University.

conditions, the force of continued contact with Europe, and the force of the melting pot.

The cornerstone of our early civilizations, for there were several, was the transplanting of Europeans to our shores. It is well to remember that this movement was not confined to the English, but embraced, also, Dutch, Ulster Scots, Germans, French, Walloons, Flemings, Finns, Scots. Within some of these national groups were included minor groups, out of which grew localized American civilizations—the Wilderness Zion, Penn's Holy Experiment, the United Brethren, etc.

The true nature of the creation of American civilization has been obscured by a misleading metaphor—the birthplace of the nation. Long and bitter has been the battle over this matter between Virginians and New Englanders, the former pointing out that Jamestown was the first successful English settlement and the place where the first representative assembly was established, the latter claiming that the Pilgrims who founded Plymouth represented the American spirit. Now certain writers have made the claim that neither Jamestown nor Plymouth has a right to the prize, since it belongs rightly to Roanoke Island. If Roanoke Island is the birthplace of the nation, then the nation was stillborn. And I may add that the New Englanders, being from the days of Cotton Mather better propagandists than the Virginians, have gained the greatest following.

But is not the whole matter based on a false conception? American civilization was not the outgrowth solely of the settlement on the banks of the James; it did not develop solely from the Pilgrim Fathers, despite the vast numbers who claim descent from them, nor even from the founders of the Massachusetts Bay colony. Our civilization was the result of the establishing of a number of what may aptly be called beachheads of European civilization. The beachhead on Roanoke Island was destroyed, but those at Jamestown, New Netherlands, Plymouth, Maryland, South Carolina, Philadelphia, and elsewhere were expanded to embrace the neighboring country, so as to become the bases of new civilizations.

These new civilizations were the product, not only of inheritance—of the languages, religions, traditions, social customs, governments, agricultural methods, architectures, crafts, etc.—of the peoples who founded them but of local conditions in the various regions in which they were planted. The tobacco civilization of Maryland, Virginia, and northern North Carolina, was shaped in a large measure by the soil, climate, and rivers of the Chesapeake Bay region; Puritan New England, despite the efforts of some of its leaders, could not escape the molding influence of geography and economic

law. Before the end of the colonial period, the visitor to America, as he traveled from one province to another, distinguished a number of civilizations, each different from the other, and all different from the civilization of Great Britain.

Some of these civilizations were influenced profoundly by the melting pot. In New Jersey, Flemings and Walloons mingled with the Dutch, the Dutch touched elbows with Puritans, while Scots, Germans, Ulster Scots, and New Englanders sat down side by side with Swedes, Finns, and English Quakers. Pennsylvania, founded by the Quakers, became a refuge for thousands of Germans and Ulster Scots. Even in Virginia, Scotch merchants and French Protestants mingled with the English in the tidewater and Piedmont sections, while, in the Shenandoah Valley, Ulster Scots, Germans, and Swiss struggled to retain their religions, tongues, and customs, in the face of the tide of eastern Virginians who swept over the Blue Ridge.

Striking across the forces of diversity was the continued contact with Europe, especially with Great Britain. With New Englanders, Pennsylvanians, Carolinians, and other colonials reading English books and gazettes, wearing clothes cut in the English fashion, shaping their architecture to the Georgian model, reclining in English-made chairs, and eating from English pewter or silver dishes, turning, many of them, for religious leadership to the bishop of London, they continued to have much in common with each other and with the mother country.

The story of the founding and development of our eastern American civilizations gives us the pattern for the founding and development of the civilizations of the great West. They were shaped by the same forces—transit, local conditions, the melting pot, and continued contact with the parent regions. With the Atlantic states playing for the West the role which Europe formerly played for the colonies, history repeated itself, though with an infinite number of minor variations. The civilization planted on the southern shores of the Great Lakes did not reproduce exactly the civilization of New England; Kentucky was not another Virginia; southern and middle Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois had a distinct civilization of their own; but we cannot understand these regions unless we know New England, Virginia, and the other states from which most of their settlers came.

The transplanting of our eastern civilizations to the West, certainly one of the most important movements in our history, is also one of the most neglected. Has anyone told the story of the expansion of Virginia and Maryland and evaluated the contributions of these states to the Mississippi Valley regions? Where do we turn for a definitive study of the establishment of

New England civilization in western New York, northern Pennsylvania, on the shores of Lake Erie and Lake Michigan, and along the banks of the upper Mississippi? We would like to know more about the migration from the Middle States and its influence in shaping the West.

South of the Mason and Dixon's line it was soil exhaustion and soil erosion which sent thousands of young men to seek their fortunes in the land of promise. Starting in the tidewater region they swarmed over the Piedmont, invaded the Shenandoah Valley, where they contested the supremacy of Germans and Ulster Scots, and then leapt over the mountains to stake out their claims in the West. Here they fanned out in an ever-moving semicircle, some crossing the Ohio to establish farms in the fertile plains of Indiana, Ohio, and Illinois; others pushing out to Kentucky, Missouri, and beyond; still others heading for the Southwest, to play a major role in the development of Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas.

The distinctive Virginia accent became familiar in the streets of Cincinnati, on the banks of the Missouri, in the tobacco fields of Kentucky, in the far-off Brazos Bottom, even in the gold fields and fertile valleys of California. After the War between the States, cowboys, many of them Confederate veterans, carried the Virginia-Maryland tradition to every corner of the Great Plains. When a group of Princeton geologists under the leadership of the late William B. Scott lost their way in Idaho, they were received with hospitality by a settler in his log cabin. But on their departure the next morning, the host remarked, "Strangers, I am glad I let you in, but I wouldn't have done so had I known you were Yankees."

It would be hard to exaggerate the influence of the settlers from the tobacco states upon the vast West. They brought with them their governmental system; their religions; so far as soil and climate permitted, their agriculture; where the law did not forbid, the institution of slavery; their architecture; their social customs; their mental characteristics. Today thousands of western families take pride in tracing their ancestry back to a Harrison or a Clopton or a Carter, and have for Virginia and Maryland the same reverence that the colonial Virginians and Marylanders had for England.

The New Englanders, in turn, exerted a similarly powerful influence upon the regions where they settled. The farmer, weary of trying to wrest a living from his infertile soil; the sailor, thrown out of work by the Embargo, the War of 1812, and the Tariff of 1816; the poor and the dissenter, resenting the restrictions upon their political freedom, created in the West a new New England. No doubt this Yankee West, like the Virginia-Maryland West, would have been fan-shaped, had not Canada interposed to

the northwest and west. So the New England host, upon reaching the Great Lakes, were shunted southwestward before they could move out into Michigan, northern Illinois, Wisconsin, and beyond the Mississippi. There were New Englanders in all parts of the old Northwest, but their chief line of advance was from the Mohawk to the Western Reserve and thence westward to Iowa.

Everywhere they were welcomed. "Come to us," urged a western editor. "Come you poor job-hunting, street-walking Yankee mechanics and you will find a land of plenty." Come they did—by the thousands, bringing with them the religion, political ideals, architecture, literature, customs of the region east of the Hudson. The traditions of William Ames, which John Winthrop and John Cotton had planted on the shores of Massachusetts Bay two centuries earlier, they now planted on the shores of Lake Erie and Lake Michigan. The New England town, in a modified form, they established wherever they went.

In Congregationalist churches, modeled upon those of Massachusetts and Connecticut, preachers thundered out their warnings after the manner of Urian Oakes or Jonathan Edwards; in crude little schoolhouses the teacher gave instruction from books printed in Boston; in the four-square court-houses, for all the world like the old New England meetinghouses, the judge expounded the legal code which had been familiar to Samuel Sewall and William Stoughton; the stranger who strolled across the public square of a northern Ohio village might have imagined himself on the green of Lexington, Massachusetts. The old Northwest owes much to its Yankee inheritance.

Nor were the Virginians and Marylanders and New Englanders alone in contributing to the civilizations of the West. From both banks of the lower Delaware came groups of Quaker farmers; the presence here and there of great Swiss barns marks the settlements of Pennsylvania Germans; the trail of Jerseymen and Pennsylvanians was blazoned by the crude little Presbyterian church buildings of the Ulster Scots. And far to the south, the expanding frontier of the cotton kingdom marked the advance of Carolinians and Georgians.

The settlers represented all classes of Easterners, for mingled with the poor mechanics and farmers were the sons of well-to-do planters, land speculators who dreamed of rich profits from the unopened expanses of the West, merchants who realized the possibilities of trade along the river systems. These men gave a tinge of conservatism to an otherwise democratic society, and recreated so far as they could the aristocracies of the East.

One wonders whether the emigrant from the Atlantic region, as he

halted his pack horse or his crude wagon atop the Alleghenies to take his first view of the great valley which was to be his future home, realized how powerful would be its influence in reshaping his life. He might cling to his religion, to his ideals, to old customs, he might try to build his house on the model of the one in which he was born and reared, but slowly, inevitably the West would turn him into a Westerner. The vast inland waterways of the Mississippi River system and the Great Lakes, the climate, the character of the soil, the crude life of the frontier, the danger from the Indians, the battle with the forests, all were to leave their mark on him and upon his sons and daughters.

It is not our purpose to dwell upon the influence of the frontier in molding the civilization of the West, since we are all acquainted with Frederick J. Turner's brilliant work on this subject. Perhaps too much emphasis has already been put on it. After all, it was but one of many factors which contributed to the making of the region. And we should remember that local conditions in the West continued to be a powerful remolding force long after the frontier had moved on to other regions. Nor is it true that American democracy was born of the frontier. American democracy was born in Westminster Hall, it gained a new birth when transplanted to the shores of North America, it was fortified by a century and a half of political conflict between the colonial assemblies and the governors, and was taken into the West by men who regarded it as their most valued inheritance.

Yet none will deny that life in the Mississippi Valley was different, had to be different, from the life of Boston, or New York, or Pennsylvania, or on the Virginia plantation, or in the rice fields of South Carolina. The Yankee settlers found that the Great Lakes were quite different from the Atlantic Ocean, that the trader whose business had taken him to the West Indies, or to Glasgow, or to Spain, now found his ventures narrowly limited; the whaler had to turn to some other occupation; the Gloucester fisherman looked in vain for another Georges Banks; the shipbuilder had to reshape the type of vessel he turned out; the farmer was overjoyed to discover that the yield of wheat per acre in Knox County or Seneca County was double or treble that of Essex or Worcester; the Congregationalists, weakened by isolation in the new country and lacking the prop given them by the governments of New England, in many cases turned Presbyterian. The Virginians and Marylanders, faced with a legal ban on slavery north of the Ohio River and with the equally effective ban of sterile soil in vast expanses south of it, were greatly restricted in duplicating their plantation system.

Not less influential than inheritance and local conditions in shaping the

character of the West was the melting pot. Had the boundaries of the newly formed regions in the Mississippi Valley been clearly fixed, those regions would have been more distinctive, would have differed one from the other more radically. But thousands of New Englanders crossed over into the Virginia-Maryland zone; in the Middle States zone of Ohio and Indiana both Yankees and Southerners flocked in to elbow Jerseymen and Pennsylvanians; in the Southwest settlers from Georgia and South Carolina disputed the best cotton lands with Virginians and Kentuckians. And, as though this did not complicate western society enough, there came across the Atlantic to seek their fortunes in this land of promise an unending stream of immigrants—Germans, Irish, Englishmen, Welsh, Scots. A western local historian tells us that a certain Andy Craig, the first settler of Knox County, Ohio, lived there for years before the solitude which surrounded him was broken by the arrival of Nathaniel Mitchell Young, a Jerseyman. Next George Dial, of Hampshire County, Virginia, paddled up the Owl Creek in his pirogue “and, pleased with the beautiful country,” made it his home. Then “old Captain Joseph Walker, from Pennsylvania, settles on the bank of the creek where Mt. Vernon now is.” He was followed by John Simkins, of Virginia, “with his son Seeley for capital.” “While these plain men from Virginia, New Jersey and Pennsylvania are preparing their cabins . . . a stray Yankee [Samuel H. Smith] . . . with a speculative eye . . . is, with a pocket compass,” laying out the town of Clinton. Finally, in 1806, arrived a company of Quakers to add still another element to this mixed society.

Nor was the situation in Knox County unusual. Among the first settlers of Dayton were men from Maryland, Virginia, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Kentucky, Ireland, and elsewhere. The first white men to settle along Silver Creek, Honey Creek, and Rocky Creek, in Seneca County, hailed from Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, Virginia, and southern Ohio, while elsewhere in the county were Germans, Irish, and French. The so-called backbone region of Ohio was peopled largely with Pennsylvania Germans, who were joined later by Germans and Swiss from Europe. In the Ohio legislature in 1822 twenty-nine members were from Virginia and Maryland, twenty-seven from Pennsylvania, twenty-five from New England, seven from New Jersey, four from New York, two from Kentucky, two from the Carolinas, and six from Ireland.

And so, in the forests of Ohio and Indiana, was renewed the age-old battle of civilizations. Warm indeed must have been the disputes in the crude cabins as the Virginian defended the institution of slavery, or the Quaker dwelt on the sin of war, or the New Englander insisted that God himself

had designed the Congregationalist way. The Yankee farmer viewed with interest the great barns of the Pennsylvania Germans and profited by their agricultural methods; the Southerner, while perhaps disliking New England thrift, himself became more businesslike in his dealings.

The Southerners and New Englanders especially, as they met in the western melting pot, presented a marked contrast. "The Virginian is less complicated, with less apparent paradoxes, hospitable, generous, liberal," wrote one observer. "The New Englander is unique and peculiar. He reduces everything to the standard of utility; he is frugal, not mean. He scrutinizes; his curiosity sometimes leads him into impertinence. He has . . . quiet humor. . . . The two distinct types of character are brought into contact, the one losing its rugged asperities and sharp angles, the other correcting unnecessary habits."

Out of this welter, these clashing forces, emerged the Middle Westerner. Claiming an inheritance which led back to Williamsburg, to Boston, to the Delaware and Hudson Valleys; to the ideals of a Carter or a Byrd, or of Cotton Mather and Samuel Sewall; to the teachings of William Penn, of Jonathan Edwards, of Count Zinzendorf; remolded by the great West itself, he emerged as the new American.

This new American owed much to the newcomers from foreign lands, from Germany, from Great Britain, from Ireland, from Switzerland, from Holland, and elsewhere, in the formative years of the West. The immigrant, though he might become an American citizen, might learn to speak English, might adopt American clothes and build his house in the American fashion, clung tenaciously to Old World customs and ideals. The Germans introduced intensive agriculture by the use of fertilizers and the diversification of crops, their music and drama had a marked influence on the region, their perseverance, thrift, and respect for authority exercised a needed stabilizing force. The Irish contributed an element of cheerfulness and hospitality; their wit and extravagances of speech made a lasting imprint on the American language; they made the Roman Catholic Church a power in the Midwest. The Dutch, stern Calvinists most of them, joined with Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Methodists in passing blue laws and frowning upon dancing, cards, the theater and even music, while, at the same time, preserving some of their lighter customs through the annual tulip festival.

The development of distinct midwestern civilizations was hastened by the lack of adequate transportation before the advent of the railways. It was far more difficult for a Kentuckian to keep in touch with Richmond than for a Richmonder to keep in touch with Europe; to the Yankee settler

in the Western Reserve, Faneuil Hall and the Old South Church seemed remote indeed. In fact, neither Richmond nor Boston ever became for the West the cultural capital, as London for two centuries was the cultural capital of the Atlantic colonies and states. The great Appalachian barrier, the barrier which Washington feared might one day cause the West to split off from the nation, made it necessary for the Westerners to depend more upon their own efforts and less upon the East, not only for their physical but for their spiritual and intellectual needs.

A lady once told me that the bricks for her ancestral residence near Lexington, Kentucky, built in 1811, had been brought all the way from Virginia. A little reflection should have convinced her that this was next to impossible, since the cost of hauling bricks over the poor roads of that day would have been prohibitive. It was only by the greatest effort that more precious things than bricks—books, newspapers, magazines, letters—were brought from the eastern states. When Samuel Doak founded the academy which later became Washington College, Tennessee, he brought the books for the library in sacks on horseback five hundred miles from Philadelphia through forests and over mountains.

This difficulty in securing eastern printed matter made it necessary for the settlers, at a very early date, to begin publishing for themselves. The first number of *The Centinel of the North-Western Territory*, edited by William Maxwell, a Revolutionary soldier, was published at Cincinnati in 1793. Since it was very costly to send a Kentucky or Ohio youth to William and Mary or to Harvard, the Midwesterners founded their own colleges. It became necessary for the region to develop its cabinetmakers, to organize public libraries and musical societies, to manufacture its own cloth and agricultural instruments. At a remarkably early date it gave birth to a distinctive literature.

Yet the transmontane region, despite its isolation, could not escape entirely the influence of the East. As new settlers continued to pour in from the seaboard states, they brought with them new ideas, new fashions, new techniques. The builder brought with him the latest architectural designs from Boston or Philadelphia, the schoolmaster new methods of teaching, the manufacturer brought new machinery, the musician brought new compositions. The news from the East, even before the day of canals and railways, was awaited eagerly. One Cleveland weekly, in changing the day of publication from Tuesday to Thursday, explained that this made it possible "to circulate the eastern news a week earlier" since the steamboat from Buffalo was expected to arrive on Wednesday. The New York *Tribune*

was read in thousands of homes in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa, and exerted a powerful influence on public opinion, in fact became, as James Ford Rhodes expresses it, a political bible.

In architecture the log cabin was superseded by frame dwellings designed in many cases from drawings in Asher Benjamin's *The Country Builder's Assistant* and *The American Builder's Companion*, while the influence of Jefferson was shown in such classical buildings as the Taft House, built in 1820, at Cincinnati; the Stinton House, Hamilton, Ohio; the Schug House, Huron; the Mathews House, Lake, Ohio; the Sykes House, Cuyahoga, Ohio; the Peter Allen House, Trumbull, Ohio; the Grange, Bourbon, Kentucky; the John Speed House, Jefferson, Kentucky; and Mercer Hall, Maury, Tennessee. Classical church buildings, almost identical with those in many eastern cities, sprang up on all sides. That Bulfinch, too, had his imitators in the West is evidenced by the Hildreth House, at Marietta, and by other buildings.

Both religion and education received their chief inspiration from the East. It was Thaddeus Dod, one of John Witherspoon's ablest students, who was the prophet of Presbyterianism in western Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio, preaching in the wilderness, organizing congregations, gathering around him a group of students to found the first classical school west of the Alleghenies. It was another Princeton graduate, David Rice, a convert of Samuel Davies, who became the father of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky. James Doddridge, who studied at Jefferson College, was the torch-bearer of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Virginia panhandle and eastern Ohio, going on horseback through the woods and over rivers, to preach and to baptize. Elisha Bates and Benjamin Lundy spread far and wide the tenets of the Society of Friends. Earnest men from New England, Yale graduates, many of them, established Congregational churches, schools, and colleges. The students at Oberlin, Western Reserve, Knox, and other western colleges went through the same array of Greek, Latin, mathematics, philosophy, and physics as students in the East, often using the same textbooks.

Profound, also, was the influence of eastern literature upon the West. Emerson, Poe, Lowell, Cooper, Irving, and others were widely read and appreciated, were an inspiration to budding western writers. Four of Emerson's best-known poems were published in *The Western Messenger* a year before their first appearance in the East. The browser in M. C. Younglove's bookstore, in Cleveland, was sure to find on the shelves copies of the *Leatherstocking Tales*. The *Marietta College Magazine* published critical

articles on "Washington Irving," "Ralph Waldo Emerson," "Edgar Allan Poe" and "Horace Greeley." And at the lyceums, which flourished in the mid-western cities, great crowds listened with intense interest to the lectures of Emerson, Henry Ward Beecher, and other distinguished eastern writers.

Visitors to the United States have long recognized the existence of a distinctive American civilization. Even before the advent of the national period they noted with interest the spirit of optimism which prevailed everywhere, the love of democracy, the driving energy, the self-reliance, the initiative which marked the people from Maine to Georgia. Today we have an American economic system, a distinctive literature, a distinctive architecture, even an American language. When the American goes abroad he is recognized instantly by the cut of his clothes, by his accent, by his free and easy manners.

Yet one does not have to look far to find diversity in the midst of this apparent uniformity. The New Englander is different from the Georgian; California has a civilization quite distinct from that of Virginia; there is still such a thing as the Old Northwest. During the Second World War, Princeton University inaugurated a series of conferences on the United States for British officers and men. The thing which seemed to interest them most, the thing which they were sure they had to understand before they could know this country, was sectionalism; and many were the questions they asked concerning the Solid South, the Middle West, New England, and the Pacific Coast states. Americans themselves are fully aware of the importance of this matter, for sectionalism has played a major role in our history, plays a major role in our life today.

Should not historians give more attention to the origins and development of these sections? We have one excellent study of the geography of the expanded New England; there are a number of scholarly works on immigrant groups; the influence of the frontier has been studied fully; but we are woefully lacking in books on the transit of civilization from one section to another, on the continued influence of the older sections on the new, on the effects of local conditions.

It is fascinating to turn the pages of history back to ancient times—to look on as the Egyptians build their pyramids and temples and send their conquering armies up the Nile or into western Asia; to linger in Athens in the days of its glory, there to take counsel with Aristotle or Plato, or stand in admiring wonder before the Parthenon; to witness the rise and the decline of the Roman Empire; to accompany Peter the Hermit and Richard the Lionhearted on the Crusades. But even more interesting is the story of the

founding and growth of our Middle West—the pouring of hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children over the mountains into the vast bowl of the Mississippi Valley; the struggle with the Indians, the forests, and isolation; the converting of the wilderness into prosperous farms, great cities, and innumerable towns and villages; the laying down of railways, highways, and canals; the founding of schools and colleges; the building of churches; the development of a great industrial system.

May we not hope that in the coming years this story will be better told, so that we may understand more fully the forces which created our great Middle West, which has had so profound an influence upon all phases of American civilization.

Urban's Crusade—Success or Failure

A. C. KREY*

THE success of the First Crusade in its capture of Jerusalem and in the foundation of the Latin states in Syria was so unprecedented and so stirring that historians generally have overlooked the possibility that from the point of view of Urban II, who inspired the Crusade, it may have fallen far short of the goal which he hoped to attain when he set it in motion. It is this possibility which the present paper seeks to explore.

In recent years, it is true, there has been an ever widening awareness of the fact that Pope Urban may have sought by way of that Crusade to bring about a union between the Greek and Latin churches. La Monte, for example, in commenting upon an early copy of the present article, which was then unpublished, found support for its thesis in the writings of Norden, Munro, Leib, Duncalf, and Baldwin.¹ Some thirty years earlier, Munro also referred, in considering the possibility, to Köhler and Fuller as exponents of the same idea;² and a number of others, especially Brehier, might be added to the list.³ But the references just cited will serve, perhaps, to indicate the growing conviction among historians that the union of the Latin and Greek churches was one of the impelling motives in the call for the First Crusade.

A number of the scholars named above have reached this conclusion through a variety of shrewd conjectures that, since the material considerations in the agreement with Alexius were so heavily in favor of the latter, there must have been certain less tangible considerations, such as the union of the two churches, perhaps, to establish the balance. Others, including Leib, Brehier, and Norden, have arrived at a similar inference through a systematic examination of the previous relations of the churches; and both of these approaches have served to throw new light on the whole discussion. But in striving to weigh and canvass the full extent of the problem more

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¹ John L. La Monte, "La Papauté et les croisades," *Renaissance*, II and III (New York, 1945), 156-58.

² Dana C. Munro, "The Popes and the Crusades," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, LV, no. 5 (1916), 1-2.

³ Louis Brehier, *L'église et l'Orient au moyen âge: Les Croisades* (5th ed.; Paris, 1928), pp. 57-62. See also his two chapters in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV (London, 1927), chaps. ix, xix.

thoroughly, one must also take into account a number of other factors which are to be found in the intricate interplay during the Crusade of all the separate elements which these researches imply.

Some inkling, for instance, of Pope Urban's desire to bring about the union of Greek and Latin Christendom is furnished by the reports of his speech at Clermont.⁴ Yet, since none of these was written at the time and since all, furthermore, were naturally influenced by later events, Urban's ambition to achieve this result is much more clearly indicated in the letters which he addressed to the assembling crusaders. In these he assigned great prominence to the plight of "*ecclesias Dei in Orientis partibus*"; and since he chose, in addition, to single out the liberation of "*orientalium ecclesiarum*" as the major objective of the expedition,⁵ one may reasonably assume that his identification of the "oriental churches" as "Churches of God" was no mere casual statement. Rather, it may quite well have been deliberate and, as such, intended to stress the fact that he proposed to make no distinction between Greek and Latin Christians but to regard them all, instead, as common members of one fold, of which the pope at Rome was the proper shepherd.

Other items of evidence to this effect may likewise be drawn from the fact that Urban had already established a record of friendly relations with Emperor Alexius long before Clermont. Furthermore, part of the correspondence of the emperor with the abbot of Monte Cassino has survived, and its tone is also one of friendly co-operation.⁶ More significant perhaps, was the action of Urban in sending military aid, however small, in response to the emperor's request, in 1092.⁷ This action, as well as the presence of the envoys of Alexius at the Council of Piacenza, about which we know too little, must be counted as important evidence in establishing the probability of some friendly understanding between Urban and Alexius before the First Crusade.⁸

More convincing, though still inferential, are the deductions to be drawn

⁴ Dana C. Munro, "The Speech of Pope Urban II," *American Historical Review*, XI (1905-1906), 231-42.

⁵ The letter of Pope Urban II to the crusaders in Flanders in Heinrich Hagenmeyer, ed., *Epistulae et Chartae* (Innsbruck, 1901), pp. 136-37. (Hereafter abbreviated, *H. Ep.*)

⁶ Two letters to Oderisius, abbot of Monte Cassino, *H. Ep.*, pp. 140-41, 152-53. See also Bernard Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance* (Paris, 1924), pp. 103-105.

⁷ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, VIII, 5. (Unless otherwise specified the edition of chronicles of the Crusades cited in this article is that of the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, published by the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, Paris [14 vols., Paris, 1869-1906]. References to Latin chronicles are abbreviated *H. Oc.* References to the works of Anna Comnena [abbreviated *Alexiad*], of William of Tyre [abbreviated *W. T.*], and of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* [abbreviated *Gesta*], are made in terms of book and chapter to permit use of convenient editions.) See also Brehier, pp. 61-62, and Leib, pp. 20-26.

⁸ Dana C. Munro, "Did the Emperor Alexius Ask for Aid at the Council of Piacenza?" *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII (1922), 731.

from the conduct of the pope's personal representative or representatives on the expedition itself. These were, in the first instance, Bishop Adhemar of Puy and, secondly, Count Raymond of Toulouse, who was present at Clermont; and it may be safely assumed that Urban discussed his hopes and plans with Adhemar,⁹ and possibly also with Count Raymond. Inasmuch as Adhemar accompanied the count's forces on the long journey to the Holy Land, that military leader must likewise have become acquainted with the pope's plans from the bishop, if not from the pope himself.

The first important occasion for the revelation of any previous understanding between pope and emperor was in connection with the treaty which the several leaders of the expedition were required to make with Alexius. This included the agreement between them that all cities and territories which had been previously held by the empire were to be returned to Alexius; and, though no definite date for the earlier boundaries of the empire was specified, Antioch and its environs were apparently included.¹⁰ This fact in itself is enough to make one wonder whether so substantial a concession did not depend on other considerations which may, in turn, have rested upon some previous understanding with the real leader of the Crusade, Pope Urban. For over a year and a half, at any rate, this agreement was faithfully respected by the crusaders.

In further support of this general thesis let us return, for the moment, to Urban in Italy, where continued effort on his part was required to persuade the Italians to respond to his call for a crusade. Finally, however, he was successful, enlisting not only southern Normans but the maritime cities, Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, and, last of all, the Lombard region, whose largest contingents started after his death. More significant for our immediate argument, however, is the fact that he carefully planned a church council at Bari to consider the union of Greek and Latin churches. This council, in which the momentarily exiled Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, played such an important part, met in October, 1098; and though it is not certain that any of the prelates from Constantinople were present, it adjourned to meet again in Rome the following spring for further consideration of the union of the two churches.¹¹

Turning again at this point to the crusading army, and especially to its protracted siege of Antioch, it is clear that, since much of the territory which had been recovered from the Muslim was garrisoned by crusaders, the

⁹ The letter to the crusaders in Flanders, *H. Ep.*, p. 136.

¹⁰ A. C. Krey, "A Neglected Passage in the Gesta," *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to D. C. Munro* (New York, 1928), pp. 57-78.

¹¹ J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Florence and Venice, 1759-98), XX, cols. 947-52.

policy which was adopted in filling church offices in these regions required careful consideration, and the decisions bear on our problem. This becomes evident as soon as one recalls that whenever a former Greek prelate was available he was reinstated. In no instance up to the death of Adhemar were the two churches provided with separate leadership in the same area. So harmonious, indeed, was the relationship at that time between the Greek and Latin churches that Simeon, the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem, who was then a refugee in Cyprus, joined Adhemar in a letter to the West asking for reinforcements.¹² Again, when Antioch was finally secured by the crusaders, Adhemar, who seems to have assumed that the two churches were to be united, arranged for the ceremonial restoration of the Greek patriarch there;¹³ and in following this policy there is little reason to doubt that he was faithfully carrying out the instructions of Pope Urban. In fact, the entire consistency of his actions with both the words and the deeds of the pope would seem to indicate that their common understanding must have been based upon something more definite than a vague hope that the union of the two churches might result from the Crusade.

Assuming for the moment, then, that some such agreement between pope and emperor did exist, or at least that the union of the Greek and Latin churches was a definite part of Urban's plan for the Crusade, why do we not hear more about it later? The answer to this question must be sought first of all, the evidence suggests, in the events around and about Antioch, and particularly in those which occurred after the death of Adhemar; and to go very far on this line of inquiry, it is important to remember that Bohemond's desire to keep Antioch for himself was already plain, even before the bishop's death. Moreover, it is Bohemond's own chronicler who assures us most clearly of all that the other leaders, presumably Adhemar among them, did not agree with Bohemond's ambition but, on the contrary, considered Antioch as part of the territory to be returned to Alexius. This disposition on their part is clearly confirmed by the anonymous author of the *Gesta* who reports that, after the final capture of Antioch, the council of leaders sent an embassy, of which Hugh the Great¹⁴ was chief, to Alexius inviting him "*ad recipiendam civitatem*" and to the fulfillment of his treaty obligations.

So specific a statement can hardly be disregarded; and it is clear from it

¹² Letter of Simeon and Adhemar to the faithful of the northern regions, *H. Ep.*, pp. 141-42. It is noteworthy that Adhemar gives precedence to Simeon as befitted the latter's superior dignity, a further reflection of his assumption that there was to be but one church.

¹³ *W. T.*, VI, 23.

¹⁴ Hugh of Vermandois, brother of the king of France.

that, to acquire legal title to Antioch, Bohemond would have to bolster his claim by some more persuasive argument than mere possession.¹⁵ To do so, of course, his most obvious strategy was to discredit the emperor's fulfillment of his treaty obligations; and, if we are to believe Anna, the wily Bohemond was already engaged upon this policy even before Antioch was first entered. No doubt he was, as is further suggested not only by his treatment of Tati-cius, the military representative of Alexius but also by his insinuations as to the motives for the latter's departure from the siege of Antioch.¹⁶ Nevertheless, it would be difficult to maintain the thesis that Alexius had failed to live up to his obligations at this time, for he was personally leading an army to aid in the capture of Antioch in 1098 and was well across Asia Minor when he was dissuaded from his purpose by the panic-stricken Stephen of Blois, who assured him that the crusading army had already been destroyed. Upon hearing that report, the energies of the emperor's expedition were accordingly spent in applying the "parched earth" treatment to cover its retreat; and when Hugh finally arrived at the imperial court it was too late for Alexius to launch a new expedition immediately. But he did prepare another for the next year, and his envoys announcing the coming of this expedition reached Antioch as early as February and the main army of the crusaders at Arka by April.¹⁷ In addition, Alexius must also be given credit for the supplies which came by ship from Cyprus and even from Constantinople throughout this period.

How soon Alexius became convinced that the agreement concerning Antioch was to be repudiated is uncertain, for, though Bohemond's intentions in the matter must have become increasingly clear before the year 1098 had run its course, the letter in which they are stated specifically, along with a report of Adhemar's death, was not sent before September 11. This letter from the crusading chieftains to Urban was edited or supplemented by Bohemond when most of the other leaders were absent from Antioch; and in it the pope was urged "now that his vicar was dead, to come in person and establish his see at Antioch 'the original see of Peter himself'—'*urbem principalem et capitalem Christiani nominis.*'" Writing in the first person, Bohemond assures the pope that he feels quite competent to cope with the Infidel but that the heretics (Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, and

¹⁵ *Anonymi Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, ca. XXX. See also Ralph B. Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch* (Princeton, 1924), pp. 72–73. Hagenmeyer dates Hugh's arrival at Constantinople July 21, 1098. Heinrich Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie de la Première Croisade* (Paris, 1902), No. 304. (Hereafter abbreviated *H. Chron.*)

¹⁶ *Alexiad*, XI, 6.

¹⁷ Yewdale, pp. 77–78. See also *W. T.*, VII, 20.

Jacobites are specified) are beyond him. To deal with them, he needs the pope's help "*omnes haereses, cuiuscumque generis sint, tua auctoritate et nostra virtute eradicis et destruas*";¹⁸ and there in those few words he announces not only his determination to hold Antioch, even though it may mean war with the Greeks to do so, but his not too subtle purpose, furthermore, to gain sanction for his usurpation, at least in the eyes of the Latins, by having the pope establish his see in that city. By 1098, therefore, Bohemond was embarked upon a course that was certain to lead to a war with Alexius for the possession of Antioch, a struggle which was to engage his energies for the rest of his life.

Bohemond's intentions and policy now being clear, it becomes necessary to discover their effect on (1) the pope, (2) Alexius, and (3) the crusading leaders.

To begin, then, with Urban: How startled he must have been, if our conjecture about his hopes and his plans is correct, to receive the letter of September 11, which, though written ostensibly by all the crusading leaders, ended so clearly as a personal appeal from Bohemond alone. And indeed he had reason to be surprised by its whole general tenor, for he was not accustomed to thinking of Greek Christians as "heretics" nor had his representative, Adhemar, ever treated the Greek clergy as such; and as he pondered over the letter in question, it must have been very soon clear to him that he had hardly to read between its lines to gather that Bohemond was at least contemplating, if not already set upon, a course which could only lead, if carried out, to a complete reversal of the policies which had hitherto been followed.

Just when Urban received this portentous communication we do not know; for ships and fleets traveled with so little speed in these years that there are instances during the early twelfth century when certain important messages from Syria to Italy were as long in transit as all of six months. So it is doubtful whether this special letter could have reached any Italian port much before the end of the year; and even after it arrived there, it had still to be carried to its final destination.¹⁹

As uncertain, therefore, as we must remain about the date of its arrival, we are no more sure as to what its immediate effect upon Urban may have

¹⁸ The letter of Bohemond and the other leaders to Pope Urban II, *H. Ep.*, pp. 161-65.

¹⁹ The best basis for calculation on this point is afforded by two voyages which are fairly definitely dated, first that of the Bruno of Lucca who left Antioch July 20, 1098, and reached Lucca the first week in October, 1098, an interval of nearly three months (*H. Chron.* Nos. 303, 319), and second, that of the Genoese who left Laodicea some time in September, 1099, and reached Genoa December 24, 1099 (*H. Chron.* Nos. 430, 437). It is safe to assume that the letter of Bohemond and the other leaders of the Crusade, dated September 11, 1098, did not reach Italy much before late December of 1098.

been. From the nature of its contents, however, one might suppose that no hasty reply was likely to be sent. For, as the pope thought over the information which was thus conveyed to him, he could hardly have failed to understand that its import was such as to represent considerably more than a passing threat to the forthcoming council at Rome, where the question of unity with the Greek church, which had already been debated at Bari in the previous fall, was again to receive major attention. As to how soon that was clear to him, we can only speculate, of course; but the very fact that the reports of this council contain almost no mention of the chief question which it was supposed to consider might lead one to infer that Bohemond's letter had been so disturbing to both pope and Greeks alike as to render further discussion of unity momentarily impossible.²⁰

Some new course of action was obviously required; but on what Urban decided or, indeed, whether he ever reached a conclusion on this matter is not at all clear, for he lived little more than three months after the Council of Rome, and he may have been ill most of this time. It has usually been assumed, however, that Daimbert or Dagobert, archbishop of Pisa, was sent by him to succeed Adhemar as the papal representative on the Crusade. But this is pure assumption. All the chronological indexes that we possess indicate that Daimbert and his Pisan fleet were already at sea long before Urban received or could have received the official notification of Adhemar's death.²¹ At most, Daimbert went as ecclesiastical leader of the Pisan contribution to the Crusade, which he had done so much to enlist. True, he was the ranking Latin prelate in the East when he arrived, and therefore assumed a position of ecclesiastical leadership, but that is another story. For our immediate purposes, it is important only to remember that he was not Urban's appointee to succeed Adhemar. It is doubtful, in fact, whether Urban ever nominated a successor; and there is reason to believe that Cardinal Maurice, who was appointed by Paschal II in April, 1100, was the first papal vicar after Adhemar.²² If so, every crucial event of the Crusade from August 1, 1098, until the arrival of Cardinal Maurice, must have oc-

²⁰ Mansi, XX, cols. 961-70. See also Leib, pp. 296-97.

²¹ The arrival of Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa, at Laodicea approximately a year after the death of Adhemar, the first important prelate from the West since Adhemar, has led most historians, even Leib (p. 269), to assume that he was the papal legate to succeed Adhemar. It is probable that the Pisan fleet left some time in the late summer of 1098 for it is known to have wintered on the islands in the eastern Mediterranean which it had captured (*H. Chron.*, No. 428). He had therefore left Italy before the news of Adhemar's death had been received. There is no letter of Urban's or Paschal's which describes him as papal legate in the Holy Land as there is of Adhemar or Maurice. Nor does he so style himself in his letter of September, 1099 (*H. Ep.*, p. 161), nor does a close study of his conduct after his arrival in the East justify such assumption; indeed, there is much to the contrary.

²² The letter of Pope Paschal II congratulating the triumphant crusaders in Asia (*H. Ep.*, 178-79).

curred without the presence or the guidance of any official representative of the pope. And, if we accept this view, we may therefore conclude not only that Bohemond's letter quite probably served to paralyze the efforts of Urban II to push forward his plans for unifying the Greek and Latin churches but also that the pope himself died before he was able to go any further with that hope or expectation.

As to what may have been the effect of Bohemond's actions on Alexius, whatever disquieting rumors may have reached the emperor by the time Hugh the Great arrived at Constantinople toward the end of July, 1098, they must have been more than offset by the reports of that official messenger, for Alexius immediately began preparations for another expedition, and he furthermore sent envoys to the crusaders to announce its coming. These envoys reached Antioch in February, 1099; and then and there only did they learn for certain that Bohemond meant to keep that city. Nor did they know until they moved on to Arka in April²³ that the crusading army meant to go on to Jerusalem without waiting for the forces of the emperor. As a consequence, the expedition which Alexius had prepared to aid the Crusade was diverted into an attack upon Antioch and the region thereabout. Thus unexpectedly, at least on the part of Alexius, was the war between him and Bohemond begun;²⁴ and until that should be settled, the emperor was hardly in a mood to co-operate in any plan looking toward unity between the two churches.

Having considered the effect of Bohemond's policy upon Pope Urban and Emperor Alexius, we must also try to estimate its impact on the rest of the crusading leaders. To proceed with that inquiry, then, it is highly important to recall not only the fact that the council of crusading leaders had sent Hugh the Great to urge Alexius to come to receive Antioch and fulfill his obligations to the crusaders but also, in addition, that this action was taken *after* the capture of that city in 1098 and likewise after Bohemond had won, it is thought, the promise of the majority of the leaders to give him possession of it. Furthermore, Hugh had been sent on his mission before the death of Adhemar; and, to judge from all this whole series of events, one can only conclude that, on sober second thought and after the crisis at Antioch was past, the crusaders' leaders must have repented of their earlier action in promising Bohemond the city which was so manifestly due Alexius under terms of their agreement with him. Doubtless it was Adhemar's influence which thus prevailed; but whatever may have moved

²³ *H. Chron.*, No. 361. See also Yewdale, p. 73, and *W. T.*, VII, 20.

²⁴ Yewdale, p. 87. Ferdinand Chalandon, *Essai sur la règne d'Alexis I^{er} Comnène* (Paris, 1900).

them to this decision, their attitude at the end of June or early in July, 1098, was based apparently, as officially voiced, on the understanding that even if any considerable number of them had made concessions to Bohemond about Antioch before its capture, their previous agreement with Alexius was bound to supersede any or all such commitments to Bohemond. Whether this general decision of the council also implied that, if Alexius failed to live up to his full contract with the crusading leaders, they would then approve Bohemond's claim to Antioch, is not certain.

After the death of Adhemar, Count Raymond of Toulouse became the leader of the opposition to Bohemond's plans,²⁵ and much of the bickering that went on among the crusading leaders during the fall and winter of 1098-1099 was concerned, in general, with the disposition of Antioch. Though there were many other questions that came up during that time, this was the most persistent and far-reaching, so much so, indeed, that when the decision to march on Jerusalem was finally made, Bohemond seems to have given a somewhat equivocal promise to participate. At any rate, he apparently accompanied the rest for only a short distance southward, and then returned to Antioch in a withdrawal which Raymond, who felt himself too far committed to abandon the march, vigorously resented.²⁶

The next test of the opinion of the crusading leaders came in April, 1099, at Arka, near Tripoli, where the envoys of Alexius, after their fruitless stay in Antioch, reached the main crusading army and urged the crusaders to await the coming of Alexius and his expedition, which was promised on St. John's Day. Count Raymond strongly urged that course also,²⁷ and the decision of the leaders to reject this advice was compounded of so many diverse interests that it can scarcely be regarded as a clear indication of their attitude toward either Bohemond or Alexius. For the rank and file were impatient and anxious to complete their vows; and since Raymond had indicated a deep interest, which aroused no enthusiasm among the other leaders, in capturing Tripoli for himself, his motives in counseling delay were questioned even by his own followers. Thus losing the position of leadership which he had held since Bohemond abandoned the march toward Jerusalem, Raymond never regained it, either during or after the capture of Jerusalem. His wishes, and possibly his hopes, regarding the disposition of the Holy City were thwarted by the other leaders of whom Robert of Normandy was his leading opponent at Jerusalem, as he had been at Arka earlier.²⁸

²⁵ *H. Chron.*, No. 352; Yewdale, pp. 73-78.

²⁶ Yewdale, p. 87; *H. Chron.*, No. 349.

²⁷ Raymond d'Aguilers, *H. Oc.*, III, 268; *Alexiad*, XI, 9; *W. T.*, VII, 20.

²⁸ *H. Chron.*, No. 411; Raymond d'Aguilers, *H. Oc.*, III, 301-303. It was Robert's chaplain,

In the light of these developments, the incidents at Laodicea, where the homebound crusaders encountered Bohemond, may seem strange, for there both Robert of Normandy and Robert of Flanders²⁹ sided with Raymond when he took an active stand against Bohemond, who was energetically engaged in the siege of that Greek town. In this effort Bohemond had won the aid of Archbishop Daimbert and his recently arrived Pisan fleet. With this help the capture of the city was assured; and, under the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that his old rival, Raymond of Toulouse, expressed strong opposition to Bohemond's plans. Yet even if Raymond's position can be thus accounted for, that of the two Roberts is far from clear, for there is every reason to believe that they personally preferred Bohemond. That they nevertheless joined Raymond in the threat to take up arms against Bohemond, unless he desisted from the siege, can only be explained on much higher grounds than personal antagonism; and the fact that they added their voices to Raymond's can best be accounted for on the assumption that his opposition reflected not only his own interests but also the original plan of Urban as executed by Adhemar up to the latter's death. In such a situation, of course, the two Roberts could do no less than acknowledge, as they had done in the council of leaders in Antioch after Karbuqa's defeat, the justice of Raymond's contention; for Bohemond's action at Laodicea, which was included in the environs of Antioch, had again brought into sharp focus the whole question of the return of that city to Alexius. As a result of so many combined protests, Archbishop Daimbert called off his Pisan fleet, and devoted his energies to reconciling the Latin leaders,³⁰ while Bohemond was forced to give up the siege. In spite of that, however, and even though the two Roberts returned to the West with their troops, Raymond and a considerable portion of his troops remained in or near

Arnulf of Choques, who broke Count Raymond's leadership by questioning the validity of the Holy Lance which Peter Bartholomew, a humble cleric and visionary in Raymond's army had found in Antioch. Count Raymond, wealthiest of the leaders, had granted subsidies to the four principal leaders after Bohemond's defection. This leadership by purchase he reinforced by keeping Peter Bartholomew close to himself. The latter continued to report visions and supernatural revelations so obviously in the interest of Count Raymond at Arka that Arnulf became skeptical and questioned the validity of the lance upon which Peter Bartholomew's reputation and influence rested. This led to the trial of the visionary by the ordeal of fire which he did not survive a sufficient number of days to prove a miracle. The other leaders had been restive to move on for some time. Now the rank and file, many of Count Raymond's troops among them, refused to stay at Arka any longer. Count Raymond was thus compelled to follow on to Jerusalem. See Charles Wendell David, *Robert Curthose* (Cambridge, 1920), pp. 111-15. The legend that Raymond was offered the rule of Jerusalem, which David unfortunately repeats, was started by Raymond's chaplain and can mean only that some of Raymond's immediate friends may have suggested the possibility but there is no evidence that any of the other leaders made, or would have acquiesced in such an offer.

²⁹ Yewdale, pp. 88-89; *H. Chron.*, No. 430.

³⁰ The letter of Daimbert, Godfrey, and Raymond to the pope, *H. Ep.*, pp. 167-74.

Laodicea to assure protection of the Greek city; and when he himself finally sailed to Constantinople to confer with Alexius, he left his family and his troops behind.³¹ Looking closely, therefore, at this whole episode, one is led to conclude that Raymond and the two Roberts must have regarded Bohemond's conduct at Laodicea as a violation not only of their common agreement with Alexius but also of the plans of Pope Urban. In addition, the circumstances would seem also to imply that Daimbert could hardly have been Urban's appointee to succeed Adhemar.

And now to go a step further in the thesis which is here being advanced, let us turn our attention more directly on the war between Bohemond and Alexius. The troops of Alexius had been operating about the periphery of Antioch in the summer and early fall of 1099, but military operations had ceased at the approach of winter. The respite which the unfavorable season offered made it possible for Bohemond to fulfill his crusader's vow by going to Jerusalem for Christmas; and on this pious excursion he was joined by Archbishop Daimbert, who had spent the better part of the fall in flitting between the troops of Raymond at Laodicea and those of Bohemond at Antioch. These two ambitious men, Bohemond and Daimbert, were thus able to perfect their plans; and when they arrived at Jerusalem it was Bohemond who engineered the project for the deposition of Arnulf as patriarch of Jerusalem and the elevation of Daimbert to that office.³² It was also Bohemond who, when this had been accomplished, arranged for the joint submission of Godfrey and himself as vassals for their respective principalities to Patriarch Daimbert.³³ This was no boon to Godfrey, but it was to Bohemond, who hoped thereby to commit the Latin church to the full support of his claim to Antioch, which neither the crusading leaders nor Alexius had recognized; and the fact that this ambition on his part was involved in his dealings with Daimbert is amply confirmed by the much disputed letter of Daimbert to Bohemond, which the troops of Raymond intercepted and William of Tyre published.³⁴ Neither of these schemers

³¹ *H. Chron.*, No. 460.

³² Godfrey, who had been left with no more than 200 knights and 1,000 foot soldiers, was too helpless to resist this carefully planned conspiracy. He did not have the force to oppose Bohemond, and he so pathetically needed the fleet which Daimbert commanded to obtain a seaport to serve as a gateway to the West. Count Raymond's clergy had bitterly opposed Arnulf's election to the patriarchate, and they had filled Daimbert's ear at Laodicea with charges against Arnulf, some real as well as imaginary. This afforded Bohemond and Daimbert the opening needed to achieve their ends. Most writers, confused by later events, accepted the convenient explanation that Daimbert had been sent to occupy the patriarchate. The true story, however, is provided, oddly enough, by two writers, neither of whom favored Arnulf but much preferred Daimbert: Bartolf de Nanges (*H. Oc.*, III, 519) and William of Tyre (*W. T.*, X, 4). See also Yewdale, pp. 91-94.

³³ *W. T.*, IX, 15; Fulcher of Chartres, III, 34, 16.

³⁴ *W. T.*, X, 4.

profited too much, it is true, from this transaction, for Bohemond was captured by the Turks in 1101,³⁵ and the new papal legate, Robert, who arrived at Jerusalem in 1102, deposed Daimbert, who then sought refuge in Antioch, where he remained until Bohemond was released from captivity and decided to return to the West for reinforcements.³⁶

It was doubtless before or on that westward journey that the further plans of these two were perfected. Embracing not only Bohemond's plans for a new crusade and Daimbert's desire to recover the patriarchate of Jerusalem, they may also have included the decision to spread abroad a much edited revision of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* as propaganda material for Bohemond's primary design.³⁷ Whatever these conspirators may have had in mind, their plans received a very favorable reception in Rome in 1105 at the hands of Paschal II, who had succeeded Urban as pope; and the end result of their efforts was that Daimbert was reinstated,³⁸ and Bohemond was given the help of a papal legate in his appeal for a new crusade, especially in France.³⁹ This change in papal attitude need not, however, concern us at the moment, for the war between Alexius and Bohemond had altered any prospect of a union between the Greek and Latin churches until the question of Antioch was settled.

Turning once more to Alexius, then, we find that monarch intent, from the year 1099, upon the recovery of Antioch; and in this private war of his own, Bohemond's enemies were his friends—a circumstance which must have caused him no little embarrassment in dealing with the Crusade of 1101. For Bohemond's enemies, then, including the Turks who lived near Antioch, were now Alexius' friends. Thus Alexius was asked to help the crusaders (many of whom would doubtless turn against him when they discovered that he was at war with the Latins of Antioch) against the Turks who were his allies in that war. It was a difficult spot to be in, so difficult, in fact, that the disasters which befell the Crusade of 1101 in its march across Asia Minor were in part blamed upon Alexius. When Bohemond was released from captivity and resumed active leadership of the war against Alexius, he found the alliance of the latter with the Turks too strong for his limited forces. It was this fact which led him to seek additional aid from the West. Alexius suspected his design and began re-

³⁵ *Ibid.*, X, 26; Bartolf, *H. Oc.*, III, 538. The dismissal of Daimbert and subsequent events are reviewed in the letter of Pope Paschal II (Reinhold Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani* [Innsbruck, 1893], No. 49). See also Yewdale, p. 92.

³⁶ Yewdale, pp. 99–102.

³⁷ Krey, in *Crusades* . . . Munro, pp. 57–78.

³⁸ Röhricht, No. 49.

³⁹ Yewdale, p. 108.

cruiting a strong army with which to meet Bohemond in the West, and Arabic chroniclers inform us that he had no difficulty in recruiting Muslim troops for this purpose.⁴⁰

As Alexius had correctly surmised, Bohemond landed his "Crusade" of 1107 in the neighborhood of Durazzo, and it was there that Alexius had concentrated his greatest efforts in meeting the threat. To repel it and to defeat Bohemond, he used persuasion, bribery, and force, and Bohemond was forced at last to an ignominious peace.⁴¹ What interests us most about the terms which were then drawn up between him and Alexius is the fact that he, Bohemond, was not only required by it to recognize the previous agreement of 1097 but also to reinstate in Antioch a single Greek patriarch, who was to be nominated by Alexius. This provision, which implies that Alexius, too, had accepted the idea of a unified church, recalls the action of Urban's representative Adhemar, in setting up a former Greek patriarch in Antioch as the sole ecclesiastical head of that city. That nothing came of this treaty is beside the point, for the great efforts of Alexius against Bohemond in the West had made it impossible for him to exert anything like an equal amount of pressure in the East; and, as a natural consequence of that fact, Tancred was able to hold out so successfully that Antioch remained an independent principality of the Latins until the time of Manuel, grandson of Alexius. But when it became at last a fief of Manuel, the discussions of the union of Greek and Latin churches were again resumed with some prospect of success.

That, however, is to anticipate events; and we are concerned here only with the fact that when the treaty was signed and Bohemond's hostile forces had left the Balkan peninsula, Alexius seems to have felt a sense of great relief, as well he might since Bohemond's career was virtually ended. Though the latter returned to Italy and started to raise another army, he had made little progress in that endeavor when illness and death overtook him March 7, 1111.⁴² No doubt the news of his death afforded Alexius even greater assurance, and we soon find him reopening negotiations with the pope that involved specific reference to the reunion of Greek and Latin churches. As evidence that the initiative came from the emperor, one has only to read the letter of Paschal II to Alexius in 1112;⁴³ and the longer one meditates on that letter the more one is tempted to reflect that the overtures

⁴⁰ Hamilton A. R. Gibbs, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades, extracted and translated from the Chronicle of Ibn al-Qalānisi* (London, 1932), pp. 80, 91-92.

⁴¹ Yewdale, pp. 125-31. *Alexiad*, XIII, 8-12, inclusive.

⁴² Yewdale, p. 133, n. 97.

⁴³ Jaffe, Reg. I, No. 6334, pp. 747-48.

which Alexius put forward at that time may have been but a repetition of those which his envoys had conveyed to Urban II at Piacenza in 1094 or even earlier and which may, therefore, have constituted the basis of Urban's great hopes and plans for the First Crusade.

If the pope's instructions had been more fully carried out, it is easy to see now, the prospect of that union between the Greek and Latin churches would have come much nearer fulfillment; but that great opportunity was lost, or rather defeated, by the unbridled ambition of one man, Bohemond, who seemed to carry that strain in his blood. For poets and novelists might find an abundance of material in the remarkable similarity of the roles which he and his father, Robert Guiscard, both played in two papal efforts to unify the two great branches of the Christian church. Such unity, indeed, had been one of the dearest wishes of Gregory VII; and though circumstances prevented his launching a crusade, yet the prospect of the union apparently never left his mind—a fact which Guiscard was canny enough to recognize and make use of in furthering his own attempts to gain support for his attack on the Greek Empire.⁴⁴ And so, as events turned out, Gregory was thus forced into a position where he seemed to be trying to attain by force what could only have been attained through persuasion and co-operation. In the same way, also, Bohemond strove in his turn to commit Urban to a program of force which he virtually succeeded in winning from Urban's successor;⁴⁵ and as an end result of this double scheming of father and son, the two popes who might otherwise have succeeded in bringing about the much sought union between the two churches were both thwarted in their purposes.

Taking into consideration, then, all the factors which bear on the question we have been surveying, it would seem that, however much Urban desired the other objectives of the Crusade, his chief aim was to bring about the union of the Greek and Latin churches under the headship of the bishop of Rome; and this conclusion, which forms the thesis of this paper, is not inconsistent apparently with the course of church history. For too much has been made of the so-called "definitive break" between the Greek and Latin churches in 1054, and too little of the efforts that were made during the great reform movement of the eleventh century to achieve uniformity of Christian doctrine and practice. As a matter of fact, there was nothing definite about the affair of 1054, for negotiations for union and for the elimination of

⁴⁴ Brehier in *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, 598. Both Guiscard and Bohemond used fraudulent pretenders to the Greek throne, chiefly, no doubt, to entice papal support for their ventures.

⁴⁵ The letter of Bohemond and the other leaders to Pope Urban II, *H. Ep.* no. 161-65.

variant practices in the two churches were resumed from time to time after that date, and the initiation of such negotiations were undertaken by Greeks as well as Latins. Furthermore, such negotiations have recurred through the centuries right down to the present.

The most remarkable feature of the affair of 1054, it seems in retrospect, was the uncompromising insistence of the Latin church that the union or reunion of Greek and Latin churches must be under the headship of the pope at Rome; and this change of emphasis, it would also seem, must have developed as a logical consequence of the great Western church reform program. This movement, which nearly all textbooks on medieval history describe as devoted to the elimination of simony, marriage of the clergy, and lay investiture, also supplied, in addition, as is seldom recognized, the over-all drive to re-establish uniformity of church service and practice, and even of dogma, which had seriously disintegrated under the effects of early feudalism. That this drive for so much reform came from north of the Alps, not from Italy, and that its core was consistently monastic, seems—again on the long view—important; for the north, unlike Italy, was scarcely conscious of any Greek influence, nor did it share any tradition of occasional submission to Constantinople. On the contrary, the people of that region were conscious only of the fact that their religion had come from Rome; and the monastic core of the reformers' drive explains its uncompromising attitude on the fundamentals of ecclesiastical uniformity. Furthermore, the congregation of Cluny, which in a sense epitomizes the whole movement, supplied a sustained nucleus for its propagation; and whether we date the beginning of the movement in 910 or at some later time in eastern France or southern and western Germany, the reform drive had still gained such momentum that its force was effectively felt in nearly every portion of Western Christendom before it captured Rome in 1046.⁴⁶

After that time, the identification of the popes with the leadership of that great reform movement inspired them with a consciousness of strength

⁴⁶ It seems strange that Brehier (*Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, 272) should have repeated the expression "definitive rupture" when so much of his writing (*ibid.*, IV, 594, in particular, and all of chapter XIX in general) proves the contrary. Deno Geankoplis, who assisted the writer in preparing this article for publication, assembled so much evidence from both Greek and Latin sources of continuing friendly relations and negotiations between Greeks and Latins after 1054 as to render such characterization absurd. He was especially impressed by the fact that the edict of excommunication issued by the pope's representatives was directed at certain Greek officials, *e.g.*, Patriarch Michael Cellularius, and exempted Greek Christians; by the very friendly attitude of the popes toward the Basilian monasteries in Italy, one of which, Grosso Ferrata, served almost as an unofficial embassy of the Greek church to Rome and by the very cordial relations between the Greek church and Gregory VII until the latter lent his support to Robert Guiscard. Leib has traced the continuance of friendly relations during the days of Urban II until these were interrupted by the conduct of Guiscard's son Bohemond, and virtually closes his book with the resumption of friendly relations in 1112 (pp. 310 ff.).

and a confidence born of a long succession of victories over many obstinate difficulties; for though they were now confronted with the practical problem of dealing with Greek churches in southern Italy, they had already met and overcome a variety of other troublesome differences. So when Leo IX addressed himself to that specific problem, he was able to do so in the very same spirit that had served to iron out other such difficulties in the North and West. When viewed in this light, therefore, the affair of 1054 meant merely that Constantinople was gaining at that time its first acquaintance with this new revival in the Latin church, and that that experience proved momentarily to be nothing less than breath-taking.

In general, this confident attitude continued in the papacy, and men of Cluny were there to sustain it throughout the rest of the eleventh century. Abbot Hugh, for example, who became head of Cluny in 1048, was still abbot in 1109, having lived to see at least two of the monks whom he had trained become popes. He was abbot when Leo IX took up the Greek problem, was with Gregory at Canossa, and counseled Urban before the memorable meeting at Clermont; and doubtless he too was fired on all these occasions by the dream of Urban that all Christendom might be united. Doubtless, also, he shared Urban's disappointment that the Crusade had failed to realize that dream, for from Urban's point of view the Crusade that he planned could hardly have been counted a complete success.

The Migration of New Englanders to England, 1640-1660

WILLIAM L. SACHSE*

TWENTY years after the landing of the Pilgrims the influx of Englishmen to the New England colonies came virtually to a halt. The century's fourth decade, in particular, had poured thousands of political and religious non-conformists into the wilderness, but with the advent of the forties men no longer felt constrained to ship kin and worldly goods and to seek a new life on an unknown shore. The orders which the Privy Council issued in January, 1640, clearing seven ships for New England, rang down the curtain on the "Great Migration."¹ Political alterations in Westminster encouraged many an Englishman, as John Winthrop remarked, to remain in his native land "in expectation of a new world."²

Even as the Puritan in England now chose to remain there, his counterpart in New England—and in Holland, too—now turned his thoughts, and in many instances set his course, toward home. A countermigration began which was to prevail until the Restoration undid the work of the Saints and invoked new disabilities against the Dissenter. Though we may hesitate to accept Hutchinson's allegation, repeated by Palfrey, that in the century and a quarter after 1640 more persons left Massachusetts for England than came thence to the colony,³ it is unquestionably true of the two decades after this date.

Various motives—political, economic, and religious—induced New Englanders to make the homeward crossing. In the pioneer communities of seventeenth century New England, as in all frontier societies, there was a large measure of instability and restlessness. From the beginning the threat of dispersal had worried the colony builders. At no time did the difficulties and rigors of a transatlantic voyage prevent some dissatisfied or maladjusted colonists from withdrawing from their associates and either seeking new

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¹ *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, 1574-1660*, p. 307. (Abbreviated hereafter as *Cal. S. P. Col.*)

² John Winthrop, *Journal*, ed. James K. Hosmer (New York, 1908), II, 31.

³ Thomas Hutchinson, *The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay*, ed. Lawrence Shaw Mayo (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), I, xxix; John G. Palfrey, *History of New England* (Boston, 1858-90), I, 584-87. Cf. Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (Hartford, 1853-55), I, 80.

opportunities in the wilderness or returning to the old country. Massachusetts, at least, was by no means so isolated as some have imagined. The elder Winthrop, within a year of his arrival at Salem, could not prevent over a hundred settlers from abandoning the plantation, some bound for the Piscataqua but the greater number for England.⁴ When the Massachusetts Bay Company secured the spiritual services of the ailing Francis Higginson, it was stipulated that "should he not like to dwell longer here than the three years, he and his family are to have a gratuitous passage for England."⁵ Colonial enterprises were always risky; settlements had failed before and might fail again. Bradford clearly sounded this note of uncertainty when he remarked that "their children and posteritie . . . might be driven to remove places, as they had done; yea, them selves might doe it yet before they dyed."⁶ Not that the colonial leaders condoned a restless and fainthearted spirit. In union there was badly needed strength, and, as Hubbard wrote, "those who first removed into the country . . . were (implicitly at least) engaged to support each other in whatever exigents should fall out, and therefore should not have been too forward to have removed, without the free consent of the rest of their friends, with whom they were so confederated."⁷ But New England, however safe a haven from royal and episcopal authoritarianism, was soon seen to be no land of Canaan. The comment of Hutchinson does not lack sympathy: "They had an ocean, a thousand leagues in extent, between them and all the delights of life which they had once enjoyed. On their backs they had a wilderness without limits."⁸ When Captain Roger Clap came to Massachusetts in 1630 he rejoiced that the "discourse not only of the aged, but of the youth also" was generally "How shall we go to heaven," but admitted that with some it was "How shall we go to England."⁹ Despite painful memories, for many colonists old England must have been "dear England still, left indeed by us in our persons, but never yet foresaken in our affections."¹⁰

The natural restlessness of the frontiersman was considerably aggravated in 1640, just as new opportunities were arising for the English Puritans, by a sharp economic depression. The usual vicious circle presents itself,

⁴ See Thomas Dudley's letter to the countess of Lincoln in Alexander Young, ed., *Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1623-1636* (Boston, 1846), pp. 315-16.

⁵ Joseph B. Felt, *The Ecclesiastical History of New England* (Boston, 1855), I, 103.

⁶ *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, 1606-1646*, ed. William T. Davis (New York, 1908), p. 356.

⁷ William Hubbard, "A General History of New England from the Discovery to MDCLXXX," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, second series, VI, 384. (Abbreviated hereafter as *Coll. M. H. S.*) See also Winthrop, I, 132-34.

⁸ Hutchinson, I, 110 n.

⁹ "Roger Clap's Memoirs," in Young, pp. 354-55.

¹⁰ William Hooke, *New England's Tears for Old England's Fears* (London, 1641), p. 23.

for the crisis was in part caused by the cessation of immigration and to some degree contributed to it. Not until 1648 did prices rise to a stable level. Meanwhile promoters in England were embarrassed by the pernicious argument that "many are growne weaker in their estates since they went over" to the colonies.¹¹ Economic misfortune "sett the thoughts of many upon removeall." Some were willing to experiment elsewhere in New England; others began "to inquire after the southern parts," such as Virginia and the West Indies, the supposed advantages of which were causing New England "to be disesteemed of many."¹² John Humphrey, who disliked the Massachusetts climate, was a leading advocate of settlement further south.¹³ He was promised the governorship of Old Providence by Lord Saye and Sele and in 1641 went to England to assume his duties; there he stayed, however, since the Spaniards had captured the island. John Winthrop the younger, having met with various reversals in New England, flirted with the idea of casting in his lot with the Dutch in the New Netherlands, but Hugh Peter, once of Salem, prevailed upon him to come to England.¹⁴ Other prominent men who left for England in the early forties were George Cooke, Samuel Eaton, George Fenwick, John Leverett, and Israel Stoughton.

A further cause of discontent, which frequently resulted in migration to the motherland, was the rigid and exclusive political and religious system prevalent in most of New England. From the first the colonial leaders scrutinized the immigrant with care. The early records of Massachusetts refer to those sent back to England as persons "vnmeete to inhabit here"; those of New Haven tell us of committees of townsmen sitting in judgment upon all strangers and not only denying grants of land to undesirables but whipping them and sending them out of the plantation. Even in liberal Rhode Island (that is, in Providence and Portsmouth), it was decreed that only such newcomers should be allowed to remain as were acceptable to the established residents.¹⁵ In the case of John Wheelwright the authorities of Massachusetts went so far as to inform the New Hampshire pioneers that they "looked at it as an unneighborly part" that they should aid the Bay's exiles.¹⁶ The narrow religious orthodoxy and militant intolerance,

¹¹ *New England's First Fruits*, etc., reprinted in Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), p. 445. (Abbreviated hereafter as Morison, *F. H. C.*)

¹² Winthrop, I, 333; Bradford, pp. 363, 390.

¹³ *Coll. M. H. S.*, fourth series, VI, 3, 8.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, fifth series, I, 368-70; *ibid.*, fourth series, VI, 114.

¹⁵ *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, ed. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff (Boston, 1853-54), I, 82-83; and see also pp. 196 and 228. (Abbreviated hereafter as *Mass. Bay Recs.*) *Records of the Colony and Plantation of New Haven from 1638 to 1649*, ed. Charles J. Hoadly (Hartford, 1857), pp. 25, 29, 35, 40. *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England*, ed. John R. Bartlett (Providence, 1856-65), I, 28, 53. (Abbreviated hereafter as *R. I. Col. Recs.*) See also Winthrop, I, 226.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 294.

particularly entrenched in Massachusetts, excluded many from membership in the church, on which was usually based the full exercise of civil rights. The Baptist, the Antinomian, and the Quaker quickly learned that those of the "New England way" could be no less inflexible or repressive than Laud's aides across the Atlantic. In attempting to answer the question of why so many were returning from New England the author (or authors) of *New England's First Fruits* maintained that many were men of "un-stayed spirit," men who could not "abide to be so pinioned with the strict Government in the Commonwealth, or Discipline in the Church."¹⁷ Such policies served to discourage immigration and evidently alienated some Englishmen who had hitherto been sympathetic. Friends of Massachusetts, such as the earl of Warwick and Lord Saye and Sele, rebuked her for her exclusiveness. New Englanders in England advised the colonists that they were making a bad impression. In 1645 George Downing criticized the "law of banishing for conscience, which makes us stinke every wheare," and Sir Richard Saltonstall, who had returned from Massachusetts in 1631 after a brief sojourn there, wrote to John Winthrop that he was grieved by "what sadd things are reported dayly of your tyranny and persecution in New England," and declared that such "rigid wayse have layd you very lowe in the hearts of the saynts."¹⁸ But such admonitions were bound to fall upon deaf ears in most New England communities, and especially in the Massachusetts of John Cotton.

England, on the other hand, had by about 1650 gained something of a liberal reputation in the eyes of some New Englanders. By this time the established episcopal authority had been overthrown and the threat of a new presbyterian ascendancy averted. In a subtitle to his *Ill News from New England*, published in 1652, John Clark noted that "while old England is becoming new, New-England is become Old." In theocratic New Haven, in 1653, men were exhorted "to stand for the State of England . . . and to stand for their libberties, that they may all haue their votes and shake of the yoake of gouernmt they haue bine vnder in this jurisdiction."¹⁹ In a letter urging the younger John Winthrop to come with his family to England, Hugh Peter, an advocate of toleration, extolled the "free Comonwealth" of England.²⁰

¹⁷ Morison, *F. H. C.*, p. 446.

¹⁸ *Coll. M. H. S.*, fourth series, VI, 537; and see also *ibid.*, fifth series, VIII, 200. Saltonstall was referring in particular to the persecution suffered by three Rhode Island Baptists—John Clark, Obadiah Holmes, and John Crandall—in Massachusetts. For a description of this episode see John Clark, *Ill News from New England* (London, 1652), reprinted in *Coll. M. H. S.*, fourth series, II, 1 ff.

¹⁹ *Records of the Colony or Jurisdiction of New Haven, from May, 1653, to the Union*, ed. Charles J. Hoadly (Hartford, 1858), p. 47.

²⁰ *Coll. M. H. S.*, fourth series, VI, 114.

Thus the mother country drew back a goodly number of those who, for one reason or another, found themselves out of step with the colonial rulers of church and state. Some of them were prominent men. Henry Vane, "young in years, but in sage councils old," returned in 1637 after only two years among the pioneers; though he had attained the governorship of Massachusetts Bay, his American career was blasted in the bud by his advocacy of antinomianism. William Pyncheon, one of the original patentees and assistants of the Bay Company, the founder of Springfield and virtual ruler of that settlement, returned about 1652 "to the more tolerant country," accompanied by George Moxon, the minister of Springfield. Pyncheon's *Meritorious Price of Our Redemption*, printed in London in 1650, had offended the orthodox susceptibilities of the Massachusetts authorities. The work was publicly burned and the author lost his place among the assistants. A man of means, Pyncheon purchased an estate in England on which he lived quietly for the remaining decade of his life.²¹ In 1646 several influential citizens of Boston were haled into court for presenting a petition "that civil liberty and freedom be forthwith granted to all truly English, equal to the rest of their countrymen"—that is, that the privilege of citizenship be independent of church membership. Robert Child, a man of property as well as an M.D. from Padua, who had headed the movement, was imprisoned and fined £250. The following year he returned to England, whither Thomas Fowle, a co-signer and a merchant of Boston, had preceded him.²² Two other dissenters returned. One was David Yale, the father of Elihu, who, as stepson of Theophilus Eaton of New Haven, brother-in-law of Governor Hopkins of Connecticut, and attorney of the earl of Warwick, was well connected as well as prosperous. He went to England in 1652 with the prospect of overseeing the family estates in Denbighshire.²³ The other was William Vassall, whose influence had been exercised both in the Bay Colony and in Plymouth. Returning to England in 1646, he soon moved on to Barbados, where he became a prominent landholder.²⁴ Boston also lost Thomas Lechford, said to have been the first professional lawyer in Massachusetts. Coming over in 1638, he was soon out of sympathy with the rulers of the Bay Colony. His writings were declared heretical; he could not vote; he was refused political preferment; he was debarred from pleading in the

²¹ Samuel Eliot Morison, "William Pyncheon, the Founder of Springfield," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, LXIV, 103-107. (Abbreviated hereafter as *Proc. M. H. S.*)

²² Winthrop, II, 271-72; George Lyman Kittredge, "Dr. Robert Child the Remonstrant," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XXI, 17 ff. (Abbreviated hereafter as *Pub. C. S. M.*)

²³ Hiram Bingham, *Elihu Yale* (New York, 1939), pp. 6-7.

²⁴ Winthrop, II, 339; Hutchinson, I, 16 n; *Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter abbreviated as *D. N. B.*) under John Vassall.

courts. By 1641 he was quite willing to go home, a good deal less hostile to crown and bishops, and a decidedly unsympathetic critic of the New England way.²⁵ None of these men ever set foot in New England again.

The ranks of the opposition contain the names of clergymen as well as laymen. In general, colonial governments were swift to detect and prepared to punish heterodoxy in the pulpit and the press. Not a few clergymen, unable to adjust themselves to colonial standards, returned to England. Sometimes they had already tried several communities in the New World. A professed Anglican, such as Richard Gibson of Cocheco (Dover, New Hampshire), was likely to find himself in difficulties—and Gibson doubly so, for he was charged with provoking rebellion against the established order.²⁶ The controversy over antinomianism, which came to a head in the Hutchinson case, put several divines beyond the pale. The ordeal of Roger Williams requires no elaboration. Williams did not return to England for any great length of time, though he twice visited the country, where he possessed considerable influence in some quarters. But two other clerical upholders of the antinomian heresy went back to stay. They were Robert Lenthall of Weymouth,²⁷ who also revealed an unwelcome sympathy for episcopalian organization, and Hanserd Knollys, who, like Williams, was additionally offensive because of his views on baptism. It is worthy of note that while Knollys was considered by the conservatives of Massachusetts to be “a weak minister” and a disturbing influence, he became after his return to England a highly respected London divine, recognized as an outstanding leader among the Baptists.²⁸ Thomas Patient, forced out of New England by anti-Baptist legislation, returned to England in 1644 and also became prominent in this denomination. A perennial thorn in the flesh of the Massachusetts fathers was Thomas Larkham. He was a man of means, apparently sound doctrinally, and not without ability; but he was naturally insubordinate and could not endure the discipline of the Bay government, nor, it seems, avoid quarreling with his neighbors under any circumstances. Like Knollys, with whom (in a struggle which drew the intervention of the Massachusetts authorities) he contended for the pulpit of Dover, he left America under

²⁵ See his *Plain Dealing, or News from New England*, ed. J. Hammond Trumbull (Boston, 1867) and the *Dictionary of American Biography* (hereafter abbreviated as *D. A. B.*)

²⁶ Winthrop, II, 61; Frederick Lewis Weis, *The Colonial Clergy and the Colonial Churches of New England* (Lancaster, Mass., 1936), pp. 91–92, a convenient reference work for the careers of other colonial divines mentioned in this essay.

²⁷ Winthrop, I, 292–93; II, 41; Mather, I, 244; Morison, *F. H. C.*, p. 387.

²⁸ His autobiography, *The Life and Death of Mr. Hanserd Knollys*, was published posthumously in London in 1602. See also Winthrop, I, 295–96, 328; Mather, I, 243; David Masson, *The Life of John Milton* (London, 1871–94), II, 557; Morison, *F. H. C.*, p. 386; *D. N. B.* In 1845 the foundation of the Hanserd Knollys Society honored his memory.

charges of immoral conduct.²⁹ Yet another unbridled parson, for whom New England was too small, was John Baker. After getting into difficulties in Boston, Dover, and Wells, he finally returned to England, where in 1662 he was executed for complicity in a plot of Fifth Monarchy Men to overturn the government.³⁰ To this list other names might easily be added, such as those of Stephen Bachiler of Lynn, Marmaduke Matthews of Hull, and Joseph Hull of Weymouth, whose kind reception by the people of York furnished an excuse for the exclusion of Maine from the New England Confederation.

This is not to say that only the misfits and the malcontents returned. They were, as usual, merely more noticeable. Conditions in England, following the summoning of the Long Parliament, and even more after the Civil War, were promising enough to lure men of all kinds. The New England Puritan could join his kinsmen and former associates in England under the most favorable of circumstances, both national and personal. He was, or could claim to be, a veteran member of the winning party, and one who had suffered for his own partisan convictions. The exile that he had endured bore witness to this and undoubtedly gave him, in the eyes of many, a hitherto unknown and most enjoyable prestige. Civilian and military preferment formerly unattainable now beckoned the ambitious. As early as 1640 William Hooke, preaching at Taunton "on a day of public humiliation . . . in behalf of our native country in time of feared dangers," painted a rosy scene despite the occasion. "And when a New England man returns thither," exclaimed Hooke, "how he is looked after, entertained, the ground he walks on beloved for his sake and the house held better where he is! How are his words listened to, laid up and related when he is gone! Neither is any love or kindness too much for such a man."³¹ Hooke was still in Massachusetts when he spoke these words, but encouraging reports came from those who dared to go back. Nathaniel Mather, writing in 1651, was most enthusiastic:

And now I am here I find matters so that I cannot but sincerely wish from my very heart that all my good friends in New England were here also with myself. 'Tis a notion of mighty great and high respect to have been a New-English man, 'tis enough to gain a man very much respect, yea, almost any preferment. . . .

²⁹ Winthrop, II, 27-28; Arnold G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised: being a Revision of Edmund Calamy's Account of the Ministers and Others Ejected and Silenced, 1660-2* (Oxford, 1934), p. 315; Morison, *F. H. C.*, p. 387; Felt, I, 448-49, 451; *Coll. M. H. S.*, fifth series, I, 313 ff.

³⁰ Winthrop, II, 29-30; Hubbard, p. 419; Charles Edward Banks, *History of York, Maine* (Boston, 1931-35), I, 109-10.

³¹ This sermon was published in 1641 as *New England's Tears for Old England's Fears*.

Myself within less [than t]hree hours of my coming to the city had two of[fers]. . . . If y[ou] mind any thing worth minding, make all conv[enient s]peed over.³²

Another young Mather, Samuel, urged his father to send his brother Increase to him in Ireland and strongly advocated that the colonists take advantage of the encouragement and preferment which England was then affording.³³ Hugh Peter, attempting to persuade the younger John Winthrop to seek his fortune in England, did not neglect to mention the prosperity of George Downing, who had left Massachusetts in 1645, and of Winthrop's brother, Stephen, "worth £2000 and a major."³⁴ The "inconveniences of New-England, and invitations to Old" in 1651 overcame Henry Whitfield's reluctance to leave Guilford, and John Woodbridge was lured away from Andover "upon the invitation of his friends."³⁵

If one was fortunate enough to be related to the new leaders of England, the inducement to return was so much the greater. A number of those who went back had connections from which they could expect to profit. John Humphrey was by marriage related to two seasoned patrons of the Puritans, the earl of Lincoln and Viscount Saye and Sele. Samuel Desborough of Guilford could return in 1651 to a land where his brother John was a major general and a brother-in-law of the mighty Oliver. New Haven lost William Hooke to England in 1656; it is surprising that he delayed his return so long, for his wife was a cousin of the Protector and a sister of Major General Whalley, the regicide. Hooke's sons, John and Walter, could not wait to finish their studies at Harvard before embarking for England.³⁶ Stephen Winthrop entered the parliamentary army under the aegis of his brother-in-law, Captain Thomas Rainborow, in 1646, and a dozen years later his nephew, Fitzjohn Winthrop, naturally, and successfully, looked to his uncle, Colonel Thomas Reade, to secure him a commission in his regiment.³⁷ George Downing's profitable English career was not hampered, before 1660, by the marriage of his aunt to Cromwell's most notable chaplain and dynamic factotum, Hugh Peter. Richard Saltonstall, who returned to England in 1649 and remained there until 1662, had two brothers-in-law in the House of Commons. Some who could not claim kinship with the influential might yet

³² *Coll. M. H. S.*, fourth series, VIII, 4.

³³ Hutchinson, I, 97 n.; Kenneth Ballard Murdock, *Increase Mather, the Foremost American Puritan* (Cambridge, Mass., 1925), p. 58.

³⁴ *Coll. M. H. S.*, fourth series, VI, 114.

³⁵ Mather, I, 593, 595. Friends of John Davenport persistently urged him to return in the fifties, but without success; see *Coll. M. H. S.*, fourth series, VI, 76; *ibid.*, VII, 495.

³⁶ John Langdon Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University* (Cambridge, 1873-85), I, 557-58.

³⁷ C. H. Firth and Godfrey Davies, *The Regimental History of Cromwell's Army* (Oxford, 1940), I, 179-80; II, 564, 566.

hope to reap the advantages of old-time friendships. John Wheelwright, for example, had known Cromwell as a student at Cambridge; when he returned in 1655 he enjoyed the favor of the Protector, who had not forgotten the New Englander's undergraduate prowess on the football field.³⁸

With such conditions at home and abroad it is hardly surprising that the exodus from New England assumed sizable proportions. How many joined it cannot be ascertained, for in neither the New World nor the Old have data, suitable even for approximate estimates, been unearthed. It does not appear that mass migrations of town or church groups, led by an influential clergyman or public figure, were duplicated in reverse. Thus, in large measure, had the colonies been peopled; but although Israel Stoughton, having left for England in 1643, came back the following year and persuaded others to return to England with him,³⁹ the New Englanders generally trickled back singly or in families. Even families were sometimes disrupted, as fathers and older sons went on ahead to reconnoiter and seek their fortunes, leaving other members in the colonies to hold the fort until the time was ripe to dispose of property and make the crossing themselves.⁴⁰ Sometimes, of course, complete family reunion was never achieved; in some cases it was not even planned.

Although each year between 1640 and 1660 saw some New Englanders embark for England, emigration waxed and waned according to political and religious developments at Westminster. It was especially heavy around 1641; then, with the advent of war, it tapered off until the late forties. Thereafter it increased until a peak was reached in the days of the Protectorate. The colonists, at first drawn by the successes of the Long Parliament at the expense of the royal authority, were generally reluctant to return while England's fortunes hung in the balance of war; but when the king, with his bishops, was forced to bow before the onslaughts of Cromwell's Ironsides, and when the Independent army barred the establishment of a presbyterian system in place of the episcopal one, the hesitant and the timid gained new confidence. With Cromwell in the saddle optimism became justified; for though he did not have a high regard for New England, he was very favorably disposed

³⁸ Jeremy Belknap, *The History of New Hampshire* (Boston, 1791-92), III, 339; John Heard, jr., *John Wheelwright, 1592-1679* (Boston, 1930), pp. 110-11.

³⁹ Sibley, I, 194 n.

⁴⁰ For example, Henry Whitfield, who came to New England with his family in 1639, bringing several poor families at his own expense, returned with his son John in 1650; but his son Nathaniel does not appear to have returned until 1654, and his wife stayed on until 1659, attending to property. Giles Firmin left wife and family in America. Israel Stoughton returned in 1643, his son not until around 1652, after he had finished his Harvard studies. George Downing went over in 1645, to be followed nine years later by his parents. The Hooke family is exceptional in that Mrs. Hooke returned, possibly with her two sons, two years before her husband; but, as noted above, she was Cromwell's cousin.

toward New Englanders. Were they not, in general, the kind of men with whom he had forged the New Model? Were they not fit in his eyes to form congregations of the godly in the island fringes of the Spanish Empire and among the unregenerate papists of Ireland?

The main cause for alarm in Boston and New Haven was not the number that returned, but their quality. In the single year of 1641-1642 fourteen of the one hundred and fourteen university-trained men who were in New England in 1640 departed, the vanguard of many more soon to follow.⁴¹ Most of these were clergymen, the intellectual as well as the spiritual leaders of their communities, and in many cases the wielders of considerable political influence. The period witnessed the departure of members of the most influential families in New England. John Humphrey and William Pyncheon have already been mentioned. Edward Winslow, the prominent Pilgrim Father, thrice governor of Plymouth, undertook a mission to England from which he did not choose to return. Two Winthrops, Stephen and Fitzjohn, went back. So did Robert Sedgwick, a founder of the Bay Colony's Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company and, like Humphrey, a major general. Israel Stoughton, an influential Dorchester pioneer and one of the leading landholders in Massachusetts, whose troops he commanded in the Pequot War, sought service in the grander English contest. Within a few years his son William followed him. Of the Mathers, Samuel, Nathaniel, and Increase all looked for ecclesiastical preferment in England and Ireland. George Fenwick, the pioneer governor of Saybrook and one of the commissioners of the New England Confederation, returned in the mid-forties. Connecticut also lost her other commissioner, Edward Hopkins, seven times governor of the colony, as well as Roger Ludlow, the lawmaker and one-time deputy governor; and New Haven was deprived of Samuel Eaton, the colleague of Davenport. In 1654 Connecticut thought fit to order a day of humiliation, in part because of some "eminent removalls."⁴² It was hard for an infant Connecticut settlement like Guilford to lose four of its principal citizens within a few years, including Henry Whitfield, its pastor founder, and Samuel Desborough, its first magistrate.⁴³ Few of these men ever returned. With immigration from the motherland at a standstill, where were the colonists to look for leaders?

The younger generation could not be counted upon, for they, too, were

⁴¹ Morison, *F. H. C.*, p. 254.

⁴² *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut* (Hartford, 1850-90), I, 251. For New Haven losses see Isabel MacBeath Calder, *The New Haven Colony* (New Haven, 1934), pp. 208-10.

⁴³ See Bernard Christian Steiner, *A History of the Plantation of Menunkatuck and of the Original Town of Guilford, Connecticut* (Baltimore, 1897), p. 60.

slipping back. The departure of Harvard students and graduates was particularly disconcerting and annoying to the colonists. Seven of the nine graduates in Harvard's first class, that of 1642, returned to England. Of twenty-four graduates of the classes between 1642 and 1646, no less than fourteen went thither or to Ireland. The next three classes, those of 1647, 1649, and 1650, sent at least a dozen abroad; only eight stayed in New England. Altogether, more than a third of the graduates before 1656 crossed over to England at some time after graduation.⁴⁴ In 1646, ten years after the founding of the college, the commissioners of the United Colonies "thought fit that some course be taken with the parents and with such scholars themselves (as the case may require) that when they are furnished with learning, in some competent measure, they remove not into other countries, but improve their parts and abilities for the service of the colonies."⁴⁵ Six years later the Massachusetts fathers complained that "the first founders doe weare away apace, & that it grows more & more difficult to fill places of most eminence," inasmuch as Harvard graduates, "as soone as they are growne vpp, ready for publicke vse . . . leaue the country, & seeke for & accept of imployment elsewhere."⁴⁶ As Professor Morison has pointed out, Harvard under President Dunster was "a college of English exiles, born in the mother country, and in great part intending to return thither." Most of these "exiles" represented New England families, but in Dunster's time a few Englishmen sent their sons to Harvard in order that they might be properly indoctrinated in the tenets of Puritanism. Writing in 1651, Edward Johnson noted that "some Gentlemen have sent their sons hither from England, who are to be commended for their care of them, as the judicious and godly Doctor Ames, and divers others." Besides Ames he might have mentioned Sir Henry Mildmay. A grandson of the founder of an English nursery of Puritanism—Emmanuel College, Cambridge—Mildmay in 1644 sent his son William to Harvard with his tutor. Professor Morison lists eight others who must have come directly from overseas.⁴⁷ Such students could be expected to return to England after their course of study was completed (as, indeed, young Ames and Mildmay did), but too many with New England roots and obligations were following suit.

⁴⁴ See Morison, *F. H. C.*, p. 319; Sibley, I, *passim*; Mather, II, 27. Of the five Fellows under the Charter of 1650, two, Samuel Mather and Comfort Starr, sailed for England before the year was over.

⁴⁵ *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England*, ed. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff (Boston, 1855-61), IX, 82. (Abbreviated hereafter as *Ply. Col. Recs.*)

⁴⁶ *Mass. Bay Recs.*, III, 279-80.

⁴⁷ Samuel Eliot Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), part I, 76-78 and n. (Abbreviated hereafter as Morison, *H. C. in 17 C.*) Morison, *F. H. C.*, pp. 259-60.

In large measure, the college graduate sought employment elsewhere because opportunities in New England were so meager. If he could not obtain a pulpit, medicine and schoolteaching were virtually the only professional fields left; and few chose to support a family on the scant rewards of pedagogy. For a time a sort of dilemma confronted Harvard College: scholars went to England because they found no encouragement in the colonies, and the public showed reluctance to support the college because the scholars departed. Urian Oakes, who sought his fortune in England after three years as a Harvard tutor, attributed the languid condition of the college to "the want of due Encouragement to Scholars when they are come to maturity, and fitted for service in the Churches." He was referring to conditions in the seventies, after he became president of the college, but his comment is at least as applicable to the years of Dunster and Chauncy. In 1643 George Downing's mother wrote to John Winthrop the younger, then in England, that her son was "strongly inclined to traueill," and that his chief motive appeared to be "his little expectation and fears of supplye hear."⁴⁸

In 1647 Dunster had sought the advice and co-operation of the commissioners of the United Colonies with regard to the recognition of Harvard degrees by the two English universities. Asserting that he had been "informed of the readiness of some Masters of colleges there to entertain and promote such a notion," he sponsored it as a means of "encouragement to the students."⁴⁹ The commissioners, disapproving of the exodus of Harvard graduates, did nothing; but Dunster secured his objective without their aid, and in 1648 James Ward was the first of a group of Harvard graduates to be admitted to advanced standing or *ad eundem* degrees at the English institutions. Ward went to Oxford, where he collected three degrees before 1650. He was followed by Joshua Ambrose, Benjamin Woodbridge, William Stoughton, and Henry Saltonstall. Samuel Mather, Leonard Hoar, John Stone, John Haynes, George Hadden, and Thomas Parish, jr., went to Cambridge. Some did not stay to complete the baccalaureate course at Harvard. Walter Hooke took his B.A. at Cambridge; his brother John, Samuel Malbon, and Joseph Swinnock received theirs from Oxford. Some were attracted by other seats of learning. John Glover, a graduate in Harvard's class of 1651, was Aberdeen's first M.D. three years later. Governor Bellingham's son, Samuel, went to Leyden for medical training, as did Henry Saltonstall, who studied also at Padua, as well as Oxford. Increase Mather took his M.A. at Trinity College, Dublin, and Nathaniel Brewster his B.D.

⁴⁸ Sibley, I, 29-30, 177.

⁴⁹ *Ply. Col. Recs.*, IX, 95.

A few of these young men secured fellowships and other posts at the English universities. The political and religious innovations did not leave these institutions untouched. Both had contributed liberally to the Royalist cause, especially Oxford, which provided King Charles with a substitute capital until it capitulated to Fairfax in 1646. The parliamentary victories inevitably resulted in investigatory visitations, the establishment of new tests, and the expulsion of the recalcitrant. New Englanders appointed—"intruded" was the Cavalier word for it—to vacant fellowships at Oxford included James Ward at Magdalen College, William Stoughton and Henry Saltonstall at New College, and Sampson Eyton at University. Pembroke College, Cambridge, made fellows of three New England men: John Stone, John Collins, and John Haynes. Haynes became logic lecturer in 1660 and Saltonstall also served as subwarden of his college from 1653 to 1657. Samuel Mather and Joseph Swinnock became college chaplains at Oxford.⁵⁰ The former went on to Dublin, where he became senior fellow of Trinity College, an institution which also sought the services of his brother Increase, but to no avail.⁵¹

More alluring than academic posts—especially to one brought up in the New England way—were the ecclesiastical positions which opened up in the mother country. They were also far more plentiful. It is possible that a third or even more of the Anglican clergy were ejected from their livings when the Roundheads came to power. As a consequence there was a great dearth of accredited ministers. Of fourteen churches in the important city of Cambridge, only three had settled ministers. In many parishes pulpits were filled with untrained and untried men. Such conditions were a godsend to the divines or would-be divines across the Atlantic, and the high esteem in which many influential Englishmen were disposed to hold them was an added boon. The opinions of men like Cotton, Hooker, and Davenport bore weight with the faithful on both sides of the ocean. The commendatory prefaces written by English clergymen for the works of New England divines testify to a mutual respect.⁵² As for Harvard College, it was "a school of prophets," some of whom "God hath used for service to himself in both Englands."⁵³ Thus it is not surprising that the eastward migration

⁵⁰ The remarks in this and the previous paragraph are principally based on Morison, *H. C. in 17 C.*, especially part I, 299–300; Sibley, I and II; Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, early series, 1500–1714 (Oxford, 1891–92); and John and John A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, part I, to 1751 (Cambridge, 1922–27).

⁵¹ Murdock, p. 62.

⁵² See Babette May Levy, *Preaching in the First Half Century of New England History* (Hartford, 1945), pp. 161–62.

⁵³ So wrote Dr. John Owen, Philip Nye, and other dissenting clergymen of London to the Massachusetts magistrates in 1671; see John Wingate Thornton, *The Historical Relation of New England to the English Commonwealth* (Boston, 1874), p. 99.

of parsons, especially when it appeared improbable that the Presbyterians would establish their system in England, was heavy. In the words of Cotton Mather: "Old England had more ministers from New, than our New-England had since then from Old."⁵⁴

At least sixty New Englanders are known to have gone to England and there to have obtained ecclesiastical preferment. Nearly all had been born in England, Increase Mather being a notable exception. Nearly half of them had begun their clerical careers in England, after an Oxford or Cambridge education, but had been forced to abandon them because of the restrictive policies of Archbishop Laud. With a few exceptions—such as Thomas Peters, William Fletcher, and Thomas Harrison—they had come to New England between 1630 and 1640. Though some of them had remained there but a brief time, a few staying but two or three years, a good many, perhaps half the total, may be regarded as essentially American in background and outlook: these had spent their formative years in the colonies and owed their education to Harvard College. It appears that at least twenty-seven Harvard men, including a few nongraduates, obtained religious posts in the British Isles before 1660. In his Cambridge Almanac for 1669 Joseph Browne calculated that at least one hundred and twenty-two ministers had been "bred" at Harvard, of whom thirty were then living in England.⁵⁵ Another group, though a very small one, was comprised of those whose formal education had been acquired in England but whose pastoral experience was principally if not entirely American.

The majority of these men returned to secure the benefices of the ousted Anglicans. A few went back to the communities which they had formerly served, in some cases at the invitation of loyal parishioners. Thus Thomas Peters was brought back to the Cornish village of Mylor only a couple of years after he had been driven out by the Royalist forces, and Marmaduke Matthews was induced to return to Swansea by his former patron.⁵⁶ In 1636 Robert Peck had left the English Hingham to join his exiled parishioners in the Hingham which they were building in Massachusetts; but five years later he could not resist the invitation to return to the parent town. John Phillips of Dedham, the only New England clergyman to sit in the Westminster Assembly of Divines, recovered his rectory at Wrentham, Suffolk, and reorganized it on congregational principles. William Hooke left New Haven to regain his old vicarage at Exmouth, in Devon. Thomas Allen

⁵⁴ *Magnalia*, I, 237. This work was finished in 1697.

⁵⁵ Morison, *H. C. in 17 C.*, part I, 338.

⁵⁶ The remarks on the clergy in this and ensuing paragraphs are based principally on *D. N. B.*; *D. A. B.*; Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*; Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*; Sibley, *Harvard Graduates*; Morison, *F. H. C.*; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*; and Weis, *Colonial Clergy*.

went back to Norwich. Only the offer of the presidency of Harvard College deterred Charles Chauncy from answering a call from his former charges in Hertfordshire.⁵⁷

The religious affiliation of most of these men, as of nearly all those who returned to England in this period, was Independent, or Congregationalist. Only a handful favored a more centralized form of church organization. One Anglican, Richard Gibson, has already been mentioned. Another was George Burdett. Unable to get along with the Massachusetts authorities, who regarded him as a spy of Archbishop Laud, Burdett returned in 1641 to join the Cavaliers and reap his reward in the deanery of Leighlin under Charles II. Giles Firmin, who returned from Ipswich in 1644, favored a reformed episcopacy to either a congregational or presbyterian organization and was essentially a Royalist. He was the author of *Separation Examined: or, a Treatise wherein the Grounds for Separation from the Ministry and Churches of England are Weighed and Found too Light*, published in London in 1652.⁵⁸ Benjamin Woodbridge, of Harvard's first graduating class, came to be "much resorted to" by the Presbyterians in Berkshire, according to Wood; at the Restoration he was made a royal chaplain and might have had a canonry. Neither he nor Firmin conformed in 1662, however.⁵⁹ Richard Denton, who returned from Hempstead, Long Island, on the eve of the Restoration, had founded a Presbyterian church in that community.⁶⁰ The Baptists were represented by Hanserd Knollys, Thomas Patient, and Christopher Blackwood, all of whom were influential in this sect, both in England and Ireland. Prominent as a preacher to the Fifth Monarchy Men was John Venner, once of Massachusetts, who twice led the millenarians in insurrections against the government, for the second of which he and another New Englander, John Baker, forfeited their lives.⁶¹ Christopher Holder, banished from Massachusetts as a Quaker, twice traveled to England during the fifties.⁶²

When these colonial clergymen returned to England, the issue of re-

⁵⁷ See *Coll. M. H. S.*, first series, X, 174.

⁵⁸ It is possible that Jeremiah Holland, who graduated from Harvard in 1645, was also an episcopalian; see Sibley, I, 107.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 22-23; Anthony Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, etc. (London, 1721), pp. 774-75. Wood says that Woodbridge temporarily conformed in 1665; see also Matthews, p. 543.

⁶⁰ See Bernice Schultz, *Colonial Hempstead* (Lynbrook, N. Y., 1937), pp. 179 ff.

⁶¹ On Venner see *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, 1656-57, p. 351 (abbreviated hereafter as *Cal. S. P. Dom.*); *Burnet's History of My Own Time*, ed. Osmund Airy (Oxford, 1897-1900), I, 278-79; Louise Fargo Brown, *The Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men in England during the Interregnum* (Washington, 1912), pp. 107 ff.; Charles E. Banks, "Thomas Venner, the Boston Wine-Cooper and Fifth-Monarchy Man," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XLVII, 437 ff. On Baker see Winthrop, II, 29-30; Banks, *York*, I, 109-10.

⁶² Charles Frederick Holder, *The Holders of Holderness*, pp. 40, 158; Frank R. Holmes, *Directory of the Ancestral Heads of New England Families, 1620-1700* (New York, 1923), p. cxx.

ligious freedom was white-hot and inextricably intertwined with politics. Some of them, especially the Baptists, were zealous in its cause. The activities of Roger Williams during his visits to England require no repetition here. Christopher Blackwood denounced compulsion of conscience along with infant baptism as "the two last and strongest garrisons of antichrist."⁶³ Hanserd Knollys was an outstanding battler in the pamphlet war for toleration. Hugh Peter favored giving the state supervision of religious matters on the ground that only it could guarantee religious freedom.⁶⁴ But, it need hardly be said, all the returning colonists were not so liberal. Nathaniel Ward, in *The Simple Cobbler of Aggawam in America*, which went through several editions in 1647, proclaimed his detestation of religious toleration in no uncertain terms. "Poly-piety," he wrote, "is the greatest impiety in the world. . . . To authorise an untruth, by a Toleration of State, is to build a Sconce against the walls of heaven, to batter God out of his Chaire."⁶⁵ Thomas Weld was another who balked at accepting the principles of toleration as laid down by English Independents. In 1644, encouraged by the Presbyterians, Weld published *A Short Story of the Rise, Reign and Ruin of the Antinomians*, an enlarged edition of John Winthrop's account of the Hutchinson episode. This, since it drew attention to Congregational intolerance in the new world, was a liability to the English Independents, at least so far as their political aspirations were concerned.⁶⁶ Later, under the Commonwealth, he inveighed against Quakers, warned of Jesuit plots, and fought the Baptists with tongue and pen. Samuel Eaton, though he had objected to the New Haven law prohibiting all except church members from voting or holding office, showed no sympathy for the English Quakers—as, indeed, few did.⁶⁷

Besides country livings there were other ecclesiastical rewards for the homecoming colonists, opportunities attractive to the adventurous and the ambitious in that they might bring contact with the influential men of the day and lead to greater things. The army needed chaplains, and a considerable number of New Englanders heeded its call. The most notable of the army chaplains was Hugh Peter, whose career will be discussed presently.

⁶³ See his *The Storming of Antichrist in His Two Last and Strongest Garrisons*, etc. (London, 1644); Masson, III, 386–87.

⁶⁴ See W. K. Jordan, *The Development of Religious Toleration in England from the Convention of the Long Parliament to the Restoration, 1640–1660* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), pp. 416–21.

⁶⁵ Nathaniel Ward, *The Simple Cobler of Aggawam in America*, ed. David Pulsifer (Boston, 1843), pp. 5, 6.

⁶⁶ The following year Weld made up for it, somewhat, by publishing *A Brief Narration of the Practices of the Churches in New England*.

⁶⁷ Eaton's *The Quakers Confuted, being an Answer unto Nineteen Queries Propounded by Them*, etc. (London, 1654) was a venomous attack upon the Friends.

George Downing, a few years out of Harvard College, began his remarkable if not admirable English career as a chaplain in the regiment of John Okey.⁶⁸ Samuel Eaton gave up the project of settling Totoket and became chaplain to the garrison at Chester. Thomas Larkham and Hanserd Knollys, who had fought each other in New Hampshire, both served the Roundhead armies. Their colonial difficulties had evidently not chastened them, for Larkham was found guilty in 1649 of inciting to insubordination and dismissed, while Knollys left the army, displeased with the commanders. Perhaps the eminent Baptist would have been better suited for a nonmilitary chaplaincy—a college post, such as Samuel Mather and Joseph Swinnock secured at Oxford. Mather also became chaplain to the lord mayor of London, and in this office, so his descendant tells us, was brought “into an acquaintance with the most eminent ministers in the kingdom; who much honoured and valued him, and, though of different persuasions, loved, *Christum habitantem in Mathero*.”⁶⁹ Of the Hookes we have already spoken. William, the head of the family and sometime “teacher” at New Haven, did not long remain at his country vicarage in Devonshire after his return in 1656, but became the Protector’s chaplain and court preacher. He was connected in some way with the Savoy Chapel in the Strand, probably as Master.⁷⁰ His son John became a chaplain there and another son, Walter, served as chaplain of the East India Company at Masulipatam.⁷¹

Not all assignments lay within the borders of England. John Hoadley, once of Guilford, was appointed chaplain to Cromwell’s garrison at Edinburgh, where another former Guilford man, Samuel Desborough, was furthering the Protector’s policies from his seat on the Scottish Council.⁷² By 1654 there was another New Englander in Scotland’s capital. He was John Collins, a graduate of Harvard College and a fellow there, but only for eighteen months. Back in England, he was appointed to preach before the Scottish Council and served as chaplain to General Monk.⁷³ Another of Harvard’s sons, Samuel Mather, preached for a couple of years in nearby Leith. It was somewhat easier to form a Harvard club in Dublin than in Edinburgh. As early as 1646 a pamphlet entitled *The Independent’s Plot*

⁶⁸ See Winthrop, II, 250–51; John Beresford, *The Godfather of Downing Street: Sir George Downing, 1623–84* (London, 1925), p. 48; Thornton, pp. 99–100. Cf. Firth and Davies, II, 460.

⁶⁹ Mather, II, 43.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 586; *Coll. M. H. S.*, fourth series, VII, 587 ff. On whether or not he was Master see William John Loftie, *Memorials of the Savoy* (London, 1878), p. 144; *Proc. M. H. S.*, third series, I, 304 and n.

⁷¹ See *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe*, ed. Thomas Birch (London, 1742), I, 564, acknowledging Cromwell’s favors; Frank Penny, *The Church in Madras* (London, 1904), I, 48.

⁷² Steiner, pp. 65–66, 70.

⁷³ See *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1654, pp. 195, 450; Morison, *H. C. in 17 C.*, part I, 17–18.

had recommended that "the most religious and tender-conscienced people of England be employed in the affairs of Ireland" and that "all those now in America" be invited thither. Cromwell approved of this project and tried on several occasions to attract New England planters and divines, but without much success. In 1655 two islands near Sligo were reserved for New England immigrants, and in 1656 several families went over to settle near Garristown, in the vicinity of Dublin. A few years earlier, in 1650, Peter Bulkley and several other New England clergymen had indicated their willingness to accept Cromwell's invitation, provided they might have a garrisoned settlement, with "noe Irish . . . but such as we shall like of," land for a "Free-Scoole and College," and freedom to pursue the New England way in religion. None of them went over, however; nor did John Davenport, Samuel Stone, Henry Dunster, and several others, in the mid-fifties, despite the exhortations of English leaders like Fleetwood and young Henry Cromwell, and the assurance of transportation allowances and an annual stipend.⁷⁴ On the other hand, a few men with New England backgrounds crossed the Irish Sea as army chaplains in the train of Henry Cromwell, the lord deputy of Ireland and commander-in-chief of the armies there. Chief among these was Thomas Harrison, sometime chaplain to Sir William Berkeley, the governor of Virginia. His renunciation of the Anglican tenets had cost him that berth; banished from Virginia, he spent a year or more in Boston before returning to the motherland. In Ireland he served his master not only in the spiritual domain, but also as a trusted agent and observer, winning the approbation of Secretary of State Thurloe, with whom he corresponded. In addition he found time to preach at Christ Church, Dublin, at a salary of £300 a year, the highest paid to any minister in Ireland.⁷⁵ The lord deputy was also assisted by the ubiquitous Samuel Mather, who had in 1654 been recommended as preacher to the Council of Ireland, and who also served in Dublin as lecturer at Christ Church, minister of St. Nicholas', and fellow of Trinity College.⁷⁶ His prominence in Dublin induced his brother, Increase, to come to Ireland in 1657, where he studied at Trinity College and for a brief time preached in county Londonderry.⁷⁷ Other Harvard graduates who tried their luck in Ireland were Nathaniel Brewster, recommended by the Protector himself as "a very able, holy man," whom

⁷⁴ On the subject of New Englanders in Ireland see St. John D. Seymour, *The Puritans in Ireland* (Oxford, 1921), especially pp. 63, 103, 113, and 224; *Coll. M. H. S.*, fourth series, II, 115-18, 196-97; *Proc. M. H. S.*, IX, 218; Dunster MSS., printed in Jeremiah Chaplin, *Life of Henry Dunster, First President of Harvard College* (Boston, 1872), pp. 214-17.

⁷⁵ *Thurloe Papers*, III, 715; V, 213; Robert W. Ramsey, *Henry Cromwell* (London, 1933), *passim*; Seymour, p. 111.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 33, 141, 217.

⁷⁷ Murdock, pp. 60 ff.

we see hastening to catch the lord deputy before he sailed for Ireland, and Edmund Weld, son of the Massachusetts agent, who became an Independent minister at Kinsale and Blarney Castle.⁷⁸ Earlier arrivals with New England backgrounds were Thomas Patient, a prominent London Baptist, who came to Ireland as an army chaplain in 1649, founded a small Independent congregation at Waterford, and, according to Thomas Harrison, served "as an evangelist to preach up and down the country"; and Christopher Blackwood, who came with Fleetwood's and Ludlow's forces in 1653, and whom Harrison called "the oracle of the anabaptists in Ireland."⁷⁹ Though Increase Mather and Brewster did not long remain in Ireland, the others did, Harrison, Blackwood, Weld, and Samuel Mather dying there after the Restoration.

But it was not only as chaplains that the colonists found employment in the armies. Both the parliamentary and Cromwellian forces were officered by erstwhile New Englanders, more than one of whom served with distinction and attained important commands. At least half a dozen rose to the rank of colonel or better. Hezekiah Haynes, a son of John Haynes, who governed in turn both Massachusetts and Connecticut, went back to England to join Holburn's regiment as a captain in 1642. He rose to command a regiment of foot under Cromwell and to be appointed, in 1655, a deputy major general in charge of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridge.⁸⁰ George Fenwick's experience as the pioneer commandant of Saybrook had been disappointing, but it trained him for more rewarding assignments. Returning to England in 1645, he commanded a regiment of militia in the Second Civil War, served as governor of Berwick (deputizing for Sir Arthur Hesilrige, whose daughter he had married), and also of Edinburgh and Leith. When Cromwell left Scotland to pursue Prince Charles into England, it was Fenwick's enlarged regiment that remained behind on guard duty.⁸¹ As head of his intelligence staff, or "scoutmaster-general," in Scotland Cromwell made use of George Downing, the Harvard alumnus.⁸² Both John Humphrey and his son of the same name became parliamentary colonels. So did George Cooke, an Essex country gentleman who had gone to Newtown (Cambridge,

⁷⁸ *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1655, p. 199; *Thurloe Papers*, III, 559; Seymour, p. 223.

⁷⁹ See *Thurloe Papers*, IV, 90; Seymour, pp. 207, 218; C. H. Firth, *Cromwell's Army* (London, 1902), p. 324. Other ministers from New England were William Aspinwall, Joshua Hobart, John Millard, Zephaniah Smith, and Thomas Thornton. Seymour lists ten such men (*Puritans in Ireland*, pp. 206-24), but does not include Nathaniel Brewster and Christopher Blackwood.

⁸⁰ Firth and Davies, I, 95-99, 101.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, I, 387-89; C. H. Firth, ed., *Scotland and the Commonwealth: Letters and Papers relating to the Military Government of Scotland from August 1651 to December 1653* (Edinburgh, 1895), pp. 5, 318-19, 322-23.

⁸² Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, p. 65.

Massachusetts) in 1635 and there been prominent in civil and military affairs. Cooke's regiment was chosen for service in Ireland, and he was for over two years governor of Wexford. He was frequently engaged in the pursuit of guerrilla Irish bands, for which he was probably believed to be well qualified by his American experience, and during one of these brushes, in 1652, he was killed.⁸³ Still another New England colonel was Vincent Potter. Stephen Winthrop, the eldest son of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts, went to England in 1646 and became a captain in Colonel Harrison's regiment, over which, despite ill health, he was in time given command.⁸⁴ His nephew, Fitzjohn Winthrop, became a lieutenant in Colonel Reade's regiment at the age of nineteen, engaged in campaigns in Scotland, and at the Restoration entered London with General Monk, who had made him a captain.⁸⁵ At least three New Englanders served as officers in the regiment of Colonel Rainborow, who was related by marriage to Governor Winthrop. They were Lieutenant Colonel Israel Stoughton, of Pequot War fame; Major Nehemiah Bourne, once a Massachusetts merchant and ship-builder; and Captain John Leverett. Always fond of military life, Leverett was for thirty-two years a member of Boston's Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. In 1644 he crossed to England, where he enjoyed Cromwell's favor and participated in the war as a cavalryman. After four years he returned to America where, in 1663, he became major general of the Massachusetts forces. Bourne, after serving under Rainborow, was to gain greater renown at sea, and may deserve to be called New England's first admiral. In 1650 he was given command of the frigate *Speaker*, in which he transported to London the Scottish records, insignia, and regalia captured at Stirling Castle. In 1652, when in command of a squadron near the mouth of the Thames, he played a prominent part in a sea battle with Tromp, for which he was made "Rear Admiral of the Fleet of the Commonwealth of England and Captain of the St. Andrew." The following year he became a navy commissioner.⁸⁶ Another New Englander given command over English ships was Robert Sedgwick, a Boston merchant. Elected major general of the Bay colony forces in 1652, he went to England the following year and was commissioned, along with John Leverett, to lead the New Englanders in an attack on the New Amsterdam Dutch, who had been troubling the settlers of southern New England. Returning with an expeditionary force,

⁸³ Winthrop, II, 140, 143; C. H. Firth, ed., *The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow* (Oxford, 1894), I, 490-91; Wilbur Cortez Abbott, *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (Cambridge, Mass., 1937-47), II, 58, 145, 181, 223; Firth and Davies, II, 579-81.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 179-80, 185, 192; *Coll. M. H. S.*, fifth series, VIII, 199 ff.; Abbott, II, 77.

⁸⁵ Firth and Davies, II, 566; *Coll. M. H. S.*, sixth series, III, 430.

⁸⁶ See *D. A. B.*

he was frustrated by the advent of peace in 1654; whereupon he turned his fleet against the French, who were engaged in fishing and trading along the New England coast, easily seizing and garrisoning several Acadian forts. Cromwell showed his approval by giving him command of a dozen ships, carrying eight hundred men under Colonel John Humphrey the younger, and sending him to reinforce the naval and military units operating under Penn and Venables in the Spanish West Indies. Sedgwick's honest efforts to rehabilitate diseased and demoralized troops proved unavailing, and in 1656, shortly after he had been commissioned to supersede Colonel Doyley as commander-in-chief of the forces in Jamaica, he died.⁸⁷ As for those New Englanders who returned to serve obscurely in the ranks, it is difficult to say much. We know that John Baker, the troublesome lay preacher, forsook the wilderness to serve Cromwell as a halberdier; presumably there were others.

No account of New Englanders in the Roundhead forces would be complete without reference to Hugh Peter, "the grand Journey or Hackney-man of the Army," as Lilburne called him. Peter entered the army as a chaplain in 1642, a year after he had come to England as an agent for Massachusetts. He was not without military experience; years before, around 1630, he had served as chaplain of one of the English regiments of the Stadholder. His zeal, ability, and eloquence were soon recognized in high places. Fairfax and Cromwell employed him constantly. Through his activities supplies were replenished, and as a recruiting agent he had no peer. By two sermons in western England he is said to have added 5,000 men to the parliamentary forces.⁸⁸ None could better fire the troops before an engagement. Like most successful chaplains he did not shun the field. A contemporary noted that "the leaders of the Independents, Hugh Peters, and other holy men (such they seem, at least), are becoming captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, marching men around in London and elsewhere," and that "the said Hugh has a regiment in Ireland, whose valour General Cromwell himself so highly extols as to reckon this one preacher worth a hundred soldiers: always the first in attacking a rampart, he is followed by the rest so punctually that already he has taken several towns in Ireland by his sheer alacrity."⁸⁹ But Peter was more than a fiery, fighting chaplain. He served as a war correspondent in the field, reporting the activities of the army to the House of Commons. Cromwell employed him to give the legislators an account of the capture of Basing; Fairfax dispatched him to announce to them the surrender

⁸⁷ See *Thurloe Papers*, IV, 4-5; Abbott, III, 184 ff., 278, 855-57; *Pub. C. S. M.*, III, 156 ff.

⁸⁸ Abbott, I, 611; *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1645-47, p. 128.

⁸⁹ See Masson, IV, 352; cf. *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1649-50, p. 349.

of Hopton's army and to inform them of the state of the west. A half dozen or more printed narratives of battles and sieges in 1645 and 1646 came from his pen. He was, in a way, the army's public relations official, ever useful in soliciting the support of members of Parliament and of the man in the street.

Peter's English career was not confined to military activities. He was a clergyman by profession. Because of his influence at Whitehall, where he resided and served as court preacher extraordinary, he was commonly regarded as a sort of Puritan successor to Archbishop Laud. Much of his time was occupied in preaching before the Council of State, approving the credentials of clergymen, recruiting divines for Ireland, and like tasks, but by no means all of it.⁹⁰ He was a "political parson." He had helped organize the New England Company. In Massachusetts, where he lived from 1635 to 1641, he had shown himself to be a man of catholic interests and unbounded energy, active in politics and in the promotion of industrial projects. Though not a signer of the royal death warrant, he was closely connected with the events leading to King Charles's execution. Indeed, an excruciating couplet of that day,

The best man next to Jupiter
Was put to death by Hugh Peter,

singled him out among the king-killers, and perhaps not unjustifiably, for, when the royal judges had shown signs of wavering, Peter had fortified their resolution with a most uncompromising homily. At any rate, his complicity brought him to the gallows after the Restoration. But while Cromwell lived he flourished. By his friends he was referred to as Cromwell's secretary, by his enemies as the court jester. He was made a judge for the probation of wills. He journeyed on missions to Holland and Dunkirk. He served on the Committee of Both Kingdoms, on that for law reform, on that which considered the proposal to readmit the Jews to England, and on many others.⁹¹ His oratorical prowess made him no less useful as an electioneer than as a recruiting agent. In 1643 he was credited with raising some £30,000 in Holland by his "eloquent and heart-rending orations on the sufferings of the Irish Protestants."⁹² Well might the Council of State provide him with a physician when ill and assure him that, "being very sensible of your faithful service, we would not be wanting in anything that might tend to your recovery."⁹³

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1655, p. 50; C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660* (London, 1911), II, 856.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, II, 702; *Thurloe Papers*, VII, 223, 249; *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1655-56, p. 52.

⁹² Firth, *Ludlow Memoirs*, II, 312.

⁹³ *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1649-50, p. 132.

No colonist—and few Englishmen—enjoyed greater favor with Cromwell, but Peter was by no means the only New Englander to cut a figure in Interregnum politics. Five of them—Edward Hopkins, George Fenwick, Hezekiah Haynes, Stephen Winthrop, and Samuel Desborough—served as members of Parliament. When Hopkins was re-elected governor of Connecticut in 1654 he was already an English navy commissioner, and from his brother Henry he inherited the offices of warden of the fleet and keeper of the palace of Westminster, in the same year.⁹⁴ Nehemiah Bourne and Richard Hutchinson also became navy commissioners, and the latter was made treasurer of the navy.⁹⁵ He was Anne Hutchinson's brother-in-law. Driven from Massachusetts in 1637, where he left considerable landed property, he returned to England to become one of the most prominent London merchants, rich enough, it is said, to lose £60,000 in the great fire of 1666 without being ruined. He was also in the public eye as a treasurer "for the Reliefe and maintenance of sicke and maimed Souldiers, and of poore Widowes and children of Souldiers, slaine in the Service of the Parliament," and as a judge for the poor prisoners of London.⁹⁶ George Downing, in addition to his labors on various committees, represented Cromwell in the Netherlands, at Geneva, and at the court of Louis XIV. His career overlapped the Restoration, and Downing Street is his memorial in present-day London. Sir Henry Vane, who had served his political apprenticeship in Massachusetts, returned to England to become one of the most influential of the parliamentary leaders, and a champion of republicanism. The Guilford pioneer, Samuel Desborough, made his mark in Scotland, where he was keeper of the great seal and a member of the Council, and active on committees concerned with revenue and claims upon estates.⁹⁷ The chief clerk of the Scottish Council was Emmanuel Downing, George's father, who had once argued the law with John Winthrop at the Inner Temple and who had helped him found Salem.⁹⁸ Also prominent in Scottish affairs were George Fenwick, the erstwhile commissioner of the United Colonies, and Richard Saltonstall. Fenwick, whose military activities in Scotland have been mentioned above, was one of twelve members of Parliament commissioned in 1652 to meet with the Scots to discuss the union of the two countries.⁹⁹ Saltonstall had worked with the Council of State in Scotland before the advent of Desborough, along with

⁹⁴ *Cal. S. P. Col.*, 1574-1660, p. 399; *D. A. B.*

⁹⁵ *Cal. S. P. Col.*, 1574-1660, pp. 399, 437, 441; Firth and Rait, I, 1259.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 330; *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, I (Boston, 1847), 298-99.

⁹⁷ *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1651, p. 237; Firth and Rait, II, 878, 1148; Ralph D. Smith, *The History of Guilford, Connecticut* (Albany, 1877), pp. 120-21.

⁹⁸ Morison, *F. H. C.*, p. 376; Masson, V, 86.

⁹⁹ *Journals of the House of Commons*, VII, 189.

Colonel Vincent Potter, the only New Englander to sit as a judge upon Charles I and to sign the royal death warrant.¹⁰⁰ Both Fenwick and Saltonstall were also given assignments in England. Though Fenwick side-stepped the responsibility of judging the king, he served as a commissioner for foreign plantations and on various other commissions, including those to raise revenue, maintain the militia, "exclude improper persons from the Sacrament," and eject "scandalous and insufficient Ministers and Schoolmasters."¹⁰¹ Saltonstall was in 1650 appointed a commissioner of the High Court of Justice, the object of which was to try the enemies of the Commonwealth; his father, Sir Richard, also sat on this tribunal, and served as a trustee for the royal lands and as a contractor for their sale.¹⁰² Roger Ludlow, once deputy governor of Connecticut, was given employment in Ireland, where he became a member of the important commission for the "receiving, hearing and determining of all claims in or to forfeited lands," and a commissioner for the administration of justice in Dublin and in county Cork.¹⁰³ Vincent Potter was parliamentary commissioner in the army for Ireland.¹⁰⁴ Several New Englanders were given assignments in connection with the projected Caribbean domain. Edward Winslow, the colleague of Bradford and Standish at Plymouth, having served as a commissioner for estates under sequestration and as an assessor of the shipping losses suffered at the hands of the Danes during the first Dutch War, was in 1654 named one of the five commissioners responsible for the general conduct of the ill-fated Hispaniola campaign of the following year—an appointment which closed his career, for he died on the expedition.¹⁰⁵ Robert Sedgwick, whose military exploits have been noted, was made a commissioner for the government of Jamaica in 1655, likewise to be ousted by death; and Stephen Winthrop served on the committee for the management of Jamaican and West Indian affairs.¹⁰⁶

It is not difficult to find New England names on the many large country-wide committees set up by Parliament for various purposes. Bourne, Fenwick, Hezekiah Haynes, Herbert Pelham, and Richard Saltonstall—to name but five—served as militia commissioners. Among the commissioners for the

¹⁰⁰ *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1651, pp. 71, 237; Abbott, I, 728-29; II, 667; Firth and Rait, II, 885.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, I, 840, 854, 1142, 1209, 1255; II, 33, 969.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, II, 176, 359, 365, 692; Abbott, II, 7.

¹⁰³ D. A. B.; Robert Dunlop, ed., *Ireland under the Commonwealth, being a Selection of Documents relating to the Government of Ireland from 1651 to 1659* (Manchester, 1913), II, 455-56. On Ludlow's return see R. V. Coleman, *Mr. Ludlow Goes for Old England* (Westport, Conn., 1935), pp. 22-30.

¹⁰⁴ Firth and Rait, II, 236.

¹⁰⁵ See *Cal. S. P. Col.*, 1574-1660, p. 419; Abbott, III, 537-38, 754-55, 903-904.

¹⁰⁶ *Cal. S. P. Col.*, 1574-1660, pp. 429, 445, 447; Abbott, III, 852; Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649-1660* (London, 1901), III, 449-50; *Pub. C. S. M.*, III, 164.

assessment of taxes were Desborough, Stephen Winthrop, Potter, Hutchinson, and George Downing. At least a couple of dozen colonial divines and several laymen were called upon to pass upon the fitness of clergyman. Desborough, Stephen Winthrop, George Downing, and several others were commissioners for the trial of offenses under the act for the security of the Protector, passed in 1656.¹⁰⁷

Thus did England gain the services, in many fields, of those who had once abandoned her; thus were the colonies drained of many of their most enterprising and gifted men. Yet all of them were not completely lost. Many retained their interests in the New World and a loyalty to the communities they had helped to found. Some had kinsmen and property there, and some must have considered the possibility that political changes might force them to become colonists once more.¹⁰⁸ Throughout the period, of course, the colonists or groups of them were served by those who came over to England on more or less public business. Among these may be mentioned William Codrington, who crossed to secure a charter for Aquidneck; John Clark and Roger Williams, who followed him to effect its revocation; George Cleeve, who desired confirmation of the extension of his Maine holdings; and Samuel Gorton and Edward Godfrey, who sought redress of grievances at the hands of Massachusetts. Most of these men must be regarded as mere visitors, though, as we have seen, various interests induced such men to prolong their English sojourns at this time. Clark remained for ten years, not returning to Providence until after the Restoration, and Godfrey stayed on and on, ever hopeful, ever disappointed, to die in a London prison. But also serving the colonists were those who had thrown in their lot with the motherland. In 1641 Massachusetts sent Hugh Peter, Thomas Weld, and William Hibbins as special agents to London. Their failure to secure a patent to the Narragansett territory, the disappointing total of their collections, and their activities in England's internal affairs led to their dismissal in 1645. Hibbins had returned before this, but life in England was too attractive for the others, as it was for Plymouth's Edward Winslow. Such men proved that one could transfer his attention to the more rewarding arena of English politics and yet continue to aid his old associates in various ways. Hugh Peter published, with his own preface, Richard Mather's vindication of the practices in New England, and it is possible that he and Weld were responsible for the printing

¹⁰⁷ On these appointments see Firth and Rait, *passim*. Lay ejectors of the clergy included Hezekiah Haynes and Herbert Pelham; among the clerical ejectors were William Hooke, Thomas Weld, Samuel Eaton, John Knowles, Nathaniel Mather, and Richard Sadler.

¹⁰⁸ See William Cutter's letter to President Dunster, written from Newcastle in 1654, *Coll. M. H. S.*, fourth series, II, 196.

of many of the tracts written by New Englanders in the forties.¹⁰⁹ Peter interested himself in a scheme for the transportation of poor children, especially Irish refugees, to New England, and used his influence to help colonists secure preferment in England.¹¹⁰ True, he was accused of hindering the project for converting the Indians, but he asserted that the work was a "plain cheat," and told Winthrop that he would rather see the money spent on the poor of the colony. Weld defended the New England way in his *Brief Narration of the Practices of the Churches in New England* (London, 1645), an answer to William Rathband's assertion that colonial disorders were a natural result of Congregationalism. When Coddington went to England to secure his charter, he enjoyed the patronage of Hugh Peter and Sir Henry Vane but encountered the opposition of Edward Winslow, who had come to England as Plymouth's agent and was still championing her interests, though he was now an English officeholder and would never see the colony again. His pen, too, was serviceable in New England's defense, and he sponsored appeals for English assistance in the work of Indian conversion.¹¹¹

Others, who had never assumed the obligations of colonial agents, lent their aid to New England. Sir Henry Vane, who might have been expected to nurse a grudge against Massachusetts, as Hooker feared, so conducted himself with regard to the colonists that Winthrop called him "a true friend to New England," and Roger Williams, whom he aided in 1644 and 1652 in connection with the Rhode Island charter, said he was the "sheet anchor of Rhode Island's hopes."¹¹² William Hooke never seems to have lost his interest in American affairs, retaining throughout his life his "old brotherly affection" for the settlements there. Along with several other colonists in England Hooke served as one of the trustees "for the Inlargement of University Learning in New England." Between the expiry of the Weld-Peter-Hibbins mission and 1709 Harvard had no agent of her own in England, but in 1659 a board of trustees was appointed by the general court of Massachusetts to solicit, receive, and invest funds in her behalf. These trustees were headed by Nathaniel Bacon, M.P. for Ipswich; the others (except for Henry Ashurst, a prominent trader with America) had New England backgrounds. They

¹⁰⁹ Mather's work was entitled *Church Government and Church Covenant Discussed, in an Answer of the Elders of the Several Churches in New England to Two and Thirty Questions Sent over to Them by Divers Ministers in England* (London, 1643). See also *Proc. M. H. S.*, XLII, 263 ff.

¹¹⁰ *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1655-56, p. 549; *ibid.*, 1656-57, p. 394.

¹¹¹ In defense of the New England way Winslow wrote *Hypocrisy Unmasked* (London, 1646) and *New England's Salamander* (London, 1647). As Plymouth's agent he published many of Eliot's letters describing the work being done among the Indians. In 1649 he brought out *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel among the Indians in New England*, thereby aiding the organization of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England.

¹¹² Winthrop, II, 256; Morison, *F. H. C.*, p. 255; *D. A. B.*

were, besides Hooke, Herbert Pelham, Harvard's first treasurer; Richard Saltonstall; John Knowles, lecturer at Bristol Cathedral; and Thomas Allen, who after serving as John Harvard's executor had married his widow.¹¹³ In 1659 or 1660 they published a broadside entitled "An humble proposal for the enlargement of university learning in New England," which emphasized the piety of New England folk in general and of Harvard graduates in particular. The appeal was evidently not in vain, for about this time Saltonstall sent back £220 in cash and £100 in goods "for the use of the Colledge."¹¹⁴ Knowles, who in 1672 declined an invitation to head the college, was a particularly dutiful alumnus. In 1671 he wrote to Governor Bellingham and other Massachusetts notables, offering to call Harvard's needs to the attention of "persons of speciall Interest, zeal, largenesse of heart and singular affection to this weighty concernement of the glory of God"; again a board was appointed, but this time the trustees, who included Knowles and Saltonstall, appear to have declined the responsibility.¹¹⁵ John Collins, who became "very considerable among the congregational divines of Great Britain," was another of Harvard's sons who retained throughout his life a warm regard for his alma mater. As a Harvard trustee, around 1679, Collins worked to secure books for the college library. Increase Mather backed him for the vacant presidential chair, though Collins was sponsoring Leonard Hoar. For the valuable services which he performed for Massachusetts when she possessed no regular agent in London Collins was granted five hundred acres of the Nipimick country.¹¹⁶ Another true friend of Massachusetts was Nathaniel Mather, to whom is to be credited the only assistance received by New England from beyond her borders in King Philip's War—a shipload of provisions collected by Mather in Ireland, where he was a Congregationalist divine.¹¹⁷ Several New Englanders worked in England for the propagation of the Gospel among the Indians. In 1649 Parliament established a corporation to advance this cause. Of the sixteen original members named in the act five had once lived in New England: Herbert Pelham, Richard Hutchinson, Robert Tomson, Richard Floyd (written Lloyd in the act), and Edward Winslow.¹¹⁸ Henry Whitfield, the former Guilford pastor, was instrumental in founding the corporation and subsequently advertised colonial missionary efforts in *The Light Appearing More and More unto the Perfect Day* (1651)

¹¹³ Morison, *H. C. in 17 C.*, part II, 367–68, 376 n.

¹¹⁴ *Proc. M. H. S.*, third series, I, 301–308.

¹¹⁵ Morison, *H. C. in 17 C.*, part II, 392 n.

¹¹⁶ Mather, II, 139; Morison, *H. C. in 17 C.*, part I, 290; part II, 392, 394, 440; Sibley, I, 188.

¹¹⁷ *D. A. B.*

¹¹⁸ Firth and Rait, II, 198.

and *Strength out of Weakness* (1652). Richard Hutchinson later served as an agent for Massachusetts, and Nathaniel Whitfield, who also returned to achieve commercial success in London, appears to have been useful to his old neighbors in Guilford in a similar capacity after the Restoration.¹¹⁹

Although some of the repatriates prospered in England after 1660, for most of them the Restoration meant the evaporation of opportunity and for some it meant active persecution. Charles, unlike Oliver, would not make colonels and councillors of his father's exiles. A restored king brought a restored priesthood and purged universities. The revised record of Calamy shows that most of the colonial parsons had lost their English livings by 1662.¹²⁰ A few, like Increase Mather, were urged to conform.¹²¹ Some, like Nathaniel Eaton, Joshua Ambrose, and William Knight, did so; but most of them swelled the ranks of the Dissenters, serving their creed as best they could under the restrictions of the reign and often turning to medicine and schoolteaching to earn a living.¹²² Once more men were saying farewell to England. Samuel Malbon and Nathaniel Mather went to Holland; Hanserd Knollys sought refuge in Germany. New England was again regarded by some as a haven. In 1662 a Massachusetts parson wrote that "there is great talk of many ministers with their congregations coming over the next year if room can be found for them."¹²³ Some were reclaimed by the Puritan colonies. Of these the most notable were Leonard Hoar, Urian Oakes, and Increase Mather, successively presidents of Harvard College; William Stoughton, the Massachusetts judge of witch-trial notoriety; and John Leverett and Fitzjohn Winthrop, both destined to become colonial governors and military leaders.¹²⁴ There was, however, no general exodus among those who had once lived in the colonies, even though the sixties witnessed a considerable emigration. There were some who chose, for the second time within a generation, to seek the western lands, but most of them were to live out their days in England and never see the colonies again.

¹¹⁹ *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, I, 298-99; Smith, pp. 25, 91.

¹²⁰ See Matthews, *passim*.

¹²¹ Murdock, p. 68.

¹²² See Weis, pp. 76, 122; Matthews, p. 9. John Allen, John Bulkley, Isaac Chauncy, and Giles Firmin practiced medicine; Chauncy also took up teaching, as did John Woodbridge and Hanserd Knollys.

¹²³ *Coll. M. H. S.*, fourth series, VIII, 198; Matthews, p. xiv.

¹²⁴ Clergymen from New England who returned thither after 1660 include William Fletcher, Nathaniel Brewster, Increase Mather, William Stoughton, Joseph Wheelwright, John Woodbridge, Joseph Hull, and Joshua Hobart.

. . . Notes and Suggestions . . .

Netherland Regionalism and the Decline of the Hansa

WILLIAM L. WINTER*

FOR more than three hundred years before Columbus' rediscovery of America, the merchants of North Germany residing abroad, especially those from the North and Baltic seacoasts, had been associated in a league for collective security and the pursuit of their occupation as aliens in north European towns outside the immediate jurisdiction of the Germanic Roman Empire.¹ As the safety and prosperity of the merchants depended on maintaining mutually shared rights to trade and to the protection of a more or less extraterritorial status, a strong consciousness of forming a distinct society had identified members of the Hansa—*i.e.*, men of the trade guilds specially chartered.² Early necessity of organization for the common welfare had produced the federation of their native towns, which from the middle of the fourteenth century began customarily to consult together on matters of common interest and for this purpose annually to send delegates to Lübeck, leading commercial town on the western Baltic.³ The union thus formed, though as loose in constitutional structure as the confederation of North American states before 1789, tended for nearly two centuries to be pre-eminent in the economic and political sense over the North Germanic and Baltic countries, through control of surrounding waters and grasp of economic necessities of the areas serviced by its ships. After the emergence of nationalism in the later fifteenth century, the contemporaneous rise of local industry, and the opening of sea routes to Asia and the Americas—with the resultant influx of commodities in numbers great enough to diminish relatively the scope of Baltic trade—recession of the Hanseatic League began, soon to be complicated by unsolved internal difficulties, particularly the withdrawal from the union, and commercial competition of important Netherland communities.

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¹ Walther Stein, "Zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Deutschen Hanse," *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, XVII (1911), 265-363.

² For evolution of the term "Hansa" see David K. Bjork, "Three Hansa Towns and Archives—Bruges, Lübeck, Tallinn," *Pacific Historical Review*, IX (September, 1940), 297-306, esp. 298.

³ *Ibid.*, IX, 298-99; Stein, in *Hans. Gesch.*, XVII, 275-76; Ernst Daenell, *Die Blütezeit der deutschen Hanse: Hansische Geschichte von der zweiten Hälfte des XIV bis zum Letzten Viertel des XV Jahrhunderts* (2 vols.; Berlin, 1906), II, 309.

In the west, the interests of the Hansa had centered on Flanders, a province in the oldest medieval records already industrially advanced and prosperous in the manufacture of cloth.⁴ Bruges, through its port of Sluis, fronted on the North Sea at the opening of land separating the Flemish coast from the more Germanic northern portion of the Low Countries. The provincial and municipal Flemish governments had granted liberal concessions to the Germans who came by ship to this busy emporium,⁵ for at the Hanseatic factory in Bruges products from the far Baltic and Russia were exchanged for those of the fertile lowlands and for imports from the Mediterranean.⁶ The settlement of North German merchants in Bruges, an agency after 1350 supervised collectively and governed as a colony by the united cities of the Hansa,⁷ implemented the creation of special commercial privileges. Outstanding among the means of canalizing Netherland trade to Hanseatic advantage was the staple, the monopoly of certain vital commodities. While the list of goods varied from time to time, tar, wood, grain, and cloth could usually not be purchased in the Low Countries except in Bruges or at specified yearly markets in other cities. Provisions on which the staple rested had been embodied in treaties between the Netherland towns and the Hanseatic union as a whole, and the staple reflected and augmented the wealth and significance of Bruges, until in the later fifteenth century the harbor of Bruges, the Zwin, began to choke up with sand.

By 1500 commercial preponderance had shifted from Flanders to Brabant and Holland, where Antwerp and Amsterdam, respectively, had usurped economic leadership of the Low Countries.⁸ Unable to recognize the gravitational force of the displacement, the Hansa attributed the breakdown of authority and collapse of its position to individual violations of the staple by disloyal merchants or to predatory and competitive incursions of non-Hanseats.⁹ In the reports of the factory at Bruges to Lübeck, chief city of the league, the same abuses were catalogued again and again with monotonous lack of insight into the reasons for their recurrence, an absence of under-

⁴ Paul Kletler, *Nordwesteuropas Verkehr, Handel, und Gewerbe im frühen Mittelalter* (Vienna, 1924), p. 26.

⁵ Heinrich Rogge, *Der Stapelzwang des hansischen Kontors zu Brügge im 15. Jahrhundert* (Kiel, 1903), pp. 40-42.

⁶ Jules Finot, *Etude historique sur les relations commerciales entre la Flandre & l'Espagne au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1899), p. 22. Cf. Bjork, in *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, IX, 299.

⁷ Stein, in *Hans. Gesch.*, XVII, 275-76.

⁸ Cf. Karl Ver Hees, "Niederländische Handels- und Finanzpolitik unter Karl V.," *Economisch-historisch Jaarboek*, XVIII (1934), 154-228.

⁹ Gravamina I, p. 2 (1509). (Manuscript reports of the Hanseatic factory at Bruges deposited in the archives of Lübeck, transcribed and edited by William L. Winter from photostats in the private library of Professor Waldemar Westergaard at Los Angeles. Collectively titled "Gravamina des brüggischen Kontors," the reports, composed in 1509, 1511, and 1514, are cited for these years as Gravamina I, Gravamina II, and Gravamina III, respectively.)

standing that accounts for Hanseatic inability to effect definitive adjustment. Encroachments of Netherland traders in the east-west intercourse (*i.e.*, that along the North Sea-Sound-Baltic route) repeatedly alarmed agents of the factory, whose membership by 1509 had already fallen to a point imperiling its existence.¹⁰ Of the factors immediately threatening the submergence of the Hanseatic economy in the Low Countries, the most influential had been the release of Holland, Friesland, and Zealand, according to a decree of the duke of Burgundy in 1501, from their contractual obligation to observe the staple. With the northern maritime provinces free to carry on direct external trade, the fate of the factory was now to depend chiefly on the degree to which the inhabitants of Brabant and Flanders fulfilled the legal requirements to which they had bound themselves: to trade in certain commodities only through the Hanseatic agents at Bruges.

To bolster the failing staple, the Hanseats in 1508 guaranteed by treaty their legal and fiscal rights in Antwerp,¹¹ limiting excise duties on prescribed articles, protecting access to markets, and forbidding unauthorized detention of merchants and goods.¹² Yet from 1509 violations of the agreement had to be cited by the Germans; in 1511 and again in 1514, infringements of treaty rights were the subject of correspondence between the factory and Lübeck, without any indication of remedial measures being taken by either the Hansa or Antwerp. That such measures were possible seems doubtful in view of the awkwardness of the legal machinery reconstituted at the time of the treaty, for the procedures conserved in its clauses indicated Hanseatic imagination to be inert, incapable of generating new ideas or advancing institutionally. To obtain damages for injury done by a North German, an Antwerp burgher must apply in the latter's home city, then, if successful, wait three months for the execution of the judgment under foreign rules of equity, often difficult for him to comprehend.¹³ Ignoring this roundabout method, Antwerp often compensated harm to its citizens for which a Hanseat was believed responsible by seizing goods and arresting merchants, the persons and property of the innocent if the guilty were beyond reach.¹⁴ This danger to Hanseatic men and property was considerably increased after the outbreak of war in 1511, between the German Hansa towns and Antwerp as the allies of Sweden and Denmark, respectively.¹⁵

¹⁰ Gravamina II, p. 12 (1511).

¹¹ Gravamina I, p. 2 (1509). For text of the treaty see *Die Recesse und Andere Akten der Hansetage* (24 vols. in three parts; Leipzig, 1870-1913), third part, V, 488-89 (Dec. 12, 1508).

¹² Gravamina I, p. 3 (1509).

¹³ *Ibid.*; Gravamina II, pp. 14-15 (1511).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16 (1511); Gravamina III, pp. 31, 33 (1514).

¹⁵ *Cf. ibid.*, p. 30 (1514).

Basic motivation of the conflict between the Hanseatic system and the rising Netherland cities can be traced to the economic maturation of the Low Countries; formerly Holland, Zealand, and Brabant had been tributary to the cloth industry region of Flanders, from which the wool of England and of the relatively pastoral northern Netherlands was returned, fabricated, in exchange for more wool and for agricultural or other raw commodities. From the Baltic and from Russia had come honey, furs, and wood products, from the Sound and the North Sea fish, cargoes of the same Hanseatic ships that on the north and eastern voyages had carried back fine Flemish cloth. Perhaps because of the comparative infertility of their shore and the sandy hinterland, or because of the proximity of the herring, the maritime North Germans had sought their living on the sea, specializing as merchant sailors after having laid the foundations of their prosperity as fishermen. Flemish trade with England and with northeast Europe was by means of Hanseatic bottoms, and the profit derived from this vigorous intercourse served to enrich the Hanseatic towns. At the ends of the trade routes lay flourishing markets situated in richly productive countries—London, Bruges, Novgorod, Bergen—the transport of whose commodities furnished Hanseats an excellent livelihood.

For a century and a half before 1500 all provinces of the Netherlands were being transformed by industrial activity;¹⁶ during the same period England began to emerge from agrarian simplicity and to sharpen the ingenuity of Flemish wool-weavers by its competition. Under this impetus the Low Countries economically ran far ahead of the rest of northern Europe, prospering and looking for ways of investing surplus capital. To circumvent costs of transportation of their goods by the Hansa, to increase their own profits, the Netherlanders now built and navigated merchant fleets. In 1511 the merchants of the Bruges factory acknowledged their successful rivalry in Baltic trade; ships from Brabant, Holland, and Zealand were bringing from the east wax, copper, tallow, and other goods in quantities so large that the agents of the factory feared the ruin of the Hansa.¹⁷ With an attitude typical of rising economic powers seeking to advance their own manufactures, Antwerp in 1509 excluded Hansa-carried goods through the medium of a protective tariff, despite provisions to the contrary in the treaty of 1508 with the League.¹⁸ High duties prevailed in Holland and Zealand as well.¹⁹ In an earlier period tariff barriers would not have affected members of the Hansa, who traded

¹⁶ Ver Hees, in *Econ.-hist. Jaarb.*, XVIII, 154–64.

¹⁷ Gravamina II, p. 17 (1511).

¹⁸ Cf. Gravamina I, p. 4 (1509); Gravamina II, p. 16 (1511); Gravamina III, p. 35 (1514).

¹⁹ Gravamina I, p. 6 (1509); Gravamina III, pp. 38–39 (1514).

only at specified times of the year when their goods were admitted in accordance with their privileges, either duty-free or according to a special schedule. By 1509 both the restriction of Hanseatic commerce to semiannual fairs and limitation of customs duties imposed by treaty on Netherland cities had broken down. However, because their goods sold at higher prices than elsewhere, despite import duties, Hanseatic merchants—at least those from Brunswick and Hamburg—traded in Antwerp throughout the year.²⁰

Even before the dispersion of Hanseatic activity in the Low Countries beyond its former narrow and privileged geographical boundaries and seasonal confines, those fairs and markets reserved for the use of the North Germans had been invaded by non-Hanseats from the north Netherland area.²¹ In the same year, 1509, the merchants observing the unfavorable tendency of affairs from their post at the factory in Bruges accused Baltic member cities of the union, especially Danzig, of economic collaboration with those Netherlanders who as non-Hanseats were in competition with the union as a whole.²² Such Dutch cities as had joined the league were mostly willing to withdraw, since membership imposed obligations without adequately compensating privileges, and the factory was becoming useless through lack of trade as the municipal harbor of Bruges choked up with sand. Hanseats themselves refused to, or could not, use the port;²³ the staple was difficult to maintain because of inaccessibility of the Flemish capital from the sea, in addition to the fact that in 1501 the duke of Burgundy had relieved the northern provinces of the obligation of its use.

Legally exempt from the jurisdiction of the staple, Holland, Friesland, and Zealand had declined to respect an institution inconvenient to their economy and inhibitive of capital expansion. With only accumulated capital on which to depend, while that of the Dutch was constantly increasing, the German Hanseats were due to be outdistanced by their Netherland rivals. Still possessing the greatest tonnage and preferential rights at the termini of trade routes, the Hansa missed the chance to reorganize on a truly international basis and by voluntary renunciation of obsolete privileges to recreate its strength. In developing along a logical path the distribution of commodities made locally, Holland, especially, achieved easy and natural entrance into the field of north European trade. By-passing the surcharges of the factory at Bruges, the Hollanders were able to make their products accessible to con-

²⁰ Gravamina II, pp. 13-14 (1511).

²¹ Gravamina I, p. 2 (1509).

²² *Ibid.*, p. 5 (1509); Gravamina II, p. 19 (1511).

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13 (1511); *Hanse Recesse*, third part, VI, 38 (Oct. 31, 1510), 292-93 (July 6, 1511).

sumers in the Hanseatic home regions. Their prices, after the establishment of their own mercantile marine, did not have to include the costs of detours or the maintenance of agencies like the factory whose purpose had virtually fallen into disuse. Gradually they pushed into the Baltic area, where their representatives tried to emulate the functions long pre-empted by the North Germans. Though Hanseatic ordinances forbade their learning Russian,²⁴ no legal handicap could check the tide springing from abundance of production in Holland. Manufactures from that thriving province flowed past Hanseatic channels, to be exchanged for raw materials and other natural commodities of the Baltic hinterland. The emancipatory decree of Philip of Burgundy had merely served to make licit a commerce already flourishing, for the Netherland industry of the Renaissance, like that of the British during the Napoleonic wars, was stronger than the legal barriers to its foreign markets.

As the protagonist of Hanseatic interests, Lübeck began in 1509 a period of unsuccessful diplomatic maneuvering to paralyze the Netherland trade with the Baltic region and to safeguard its own profitable relations with the Swedish nationalist party. The city prevailed upon Emperor Maximilian to interdict aid to and intercourse with Denmark, on the part of the towns of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Zealand.²⁵ Inasmuch as the Hansa offered no compensation to the Dutch for the loss of Danish and Baltic trade, the command was consistently disobeyed, and Netherland pressure upon Maximilian influenced him to rescind his edict a year later.²⁶ Thereupon Lübeck rejoined, diplomatically by privately advising the Netherlanders not to approach Danish waters with matériel or goods, and by announcing penalties for the navigation of the Sound;²⁷ then—after the admonition was, not unexpectedly, disregarded—by attacking, dispersing, and seizing part of the Dutch merchant fleet.²⁸ This resort to force followed the Dutch reply, issued through Amsterdam, to the effect that the fleet would proceed to the Sound in accordance with its preparation and requesting Lübeck to instruct its captains to let the fleet pass unhindered, invoking the law of reprisal in case of interference.²⁹ During 1510 Lübeck had indicated its intention to enforce the ban on Baltic commerce by taking as prizes ships from Holland, Friesland, and other Netherland provinces,³⁰ so that its determined blow to break

²⁴ Daenell, II, 419.

²⁵ *Hanse Recesse*, third part, V, 406 (Feb. 20, 1509).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, third part, V, 689-90 (Jan. 26, 1510).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, third part, V, 690-91 (Mar. 17, 1510).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, third part, VI, 266 (Aug. 24, 1511). The attack occurred on August 11.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, third part, V, 691-92 (Apr. 10, 1510).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, third part, VI, 71 (Feb. 3, 1511).

the whole might of the Dutch mercantile marine on August 11, 1511, may be regarded as the culmination of a prolonged campaign, rather than as a unique incident. Amsterdam had already confiscated Hanseatic goods, including property of Lübeck,³¹ and wares in transit to or from the factory at Bruges; apprehension that further reprisals might occur³² were to find justification during the three years following.³³

Checked first by the emperor and then by the patent clumsiness in its use of force, demonstrating the inadequacy of belligerent action easily retaliated by the Dutch towns, the schemes of the Hansa to restrict Netherland trade and to cut off Denmark from the assistance of its wealthy and vigorous allies were defeated, while whatever idea Lübeck may have had of resubjecting the Low Countries to the staple was likewise frustrated. Rapid failure of the coercive policy toward the towns of his Burgundian realm had caused Maximilian to revoke the inhibition briefly laid upon their commercial ambitions at the moment of the emergence of their greatness as the economic backbone of his northern territories. The imperial edict of revocation, because of its neutrality benevolent to the Dutch, symbolized the delivery of the northern waters to Netherland merchantmen. Reprisals exacted by the Low Country towns, particularly Amsterdam, with surrounding Holland the center of opposition to the Hansa, suggested the approaching dissolution of the union, through the virtual secession of the youngest and most promising branch.

Activities of the Hansa in the Low Countries during the first twelve years of the sixteenth century indicate failure to preserve those privileges and rights which had been the basis of the union. The primary function of the Hansa as an organization devoted to trade was to exchange goods, for production was carried on only individually by certain cities, and the areas of consumption on which the greatness of the union had been dependent had extended far beyond political boundaries. Thus, after the opening of the modern era, with the triumph of a type of finance based on the possession of large blocks of monetary capital and the rapid manipulation of credit, the Hanseats, whose wealth had been in their ships, were at a disadvantage with respect to the financiers of Holland and Antwerp. The manufactures of the Netherlands were abundant enough to cause, by virtue of their innate desirability, new ships to be built to satisfy the ambitions of the masters of industry. The Hanseatic fleet had become dispensable, and no diplomatic argument could persuade the burghers of northwestern Europe to renew or repair those con-

³¹ *Ibid.*, third part, VI, 173 (Mar. 24, 1511).

³² *Ibid.*, third part, VI, 266 (Aug. 24, 1511).

³³ *Cf.* Gravamina II, pp. 22-23 (1511); Gravamina III, p. 38 (1514).

cessions to the merchants and shippers to whom they had been once indebted for the prosperity of their cities and the dissemination of material culture.

After the formal release in 1501 of the northern and eastern provinces from their subjection to the staple, the general economic decline of Bruges and the removal of Hanseatic trade and merchants to more favorable localities in the Low Countries destroyed the importance and power of the factory. What remained was little more than a skeleton organization, often unable to perform any function because of lack of merchant personnel. The Hanseatic role had been rendered obsolete by the fact that the Netherland provinces, particularly the northern, had risen in manufacture and trade to the point where the services of the Germans were superfluous. Hanseatic captains and merchants, finding themselves nonessential in ports and towns which once had welcomed and depended on them, and having individually to re-orient their interests, no longer observed the regulations of the league, but took their cargoes to, and bought from, cities with which they were not authorized to trade.

Through failure to adjust its policy to the transition in Netherland economy, the Hanseatic leadership, particularly that of Lübeck, demonstrated all too clearly the weakness of its diplomacy. Between 1508 and 1511, attitudes of patronizing friendship alternated with the threat and use of violence, dissipating Hanseatic prestige. Since Bruges had ceased to be, in any sense, a center of northwest European trade, its position as a seaport having been usurped by Antwerp, it became necessary for the Hansa to come to terms with the latter city, whose burghers were to hesitate in granting privileges to German merchants that might considerably restrict their own freedom of commerce.

To the north, in Holland, Amsterdam stood out as leader of that province whose fleets were opposed to conservation of Hanseatic supremacy in the northern seas, and that city disregarded Hanseatic opinions and warnings to a degree comparable to the intensity of its own commerce and diplomacy as far eastward as the Baltic. After the Hansa had failed to prevent the economic and military co-operation of Dutch and Danish interests, these two strongest opponents of the league soon allied. No subsequent effort was able to overcome the barrier thus erected to the continuation of the Hanseatic career. Dutch ascendancy in the Low Countries was able to develop economically and politically throughout the sixteenth and into the seventeenth century, while, by its control of the Sound, Denmark was able to open and close the gate through which Hanseatic intermarine trade must pass.

For nearly two centuries the North German cities had striven collectively

to achieve control over the Baltic and North seas, not only through unequivocal demands and direct action but also diplomatically by setting one foreign power against another. After 1500 internal tensions within the Hansa, created by the rise of individual Netherland towns to a greatness unbalancing the former equitable structure of the league, made impossible the co-operation necessary to consistent policy. Affairs were conducted in a manner increasingly illogical and erratic, for the Hansa towns were unable to present a united front to other powers. By 1512, the most important areas of the Low Countries had seceded, in fact if not in law. No concession was made to the maritime provinces of the Netherlands of those reciprocal privileges which would again have brought them securely within the union and prevented their alliance with Denmark on the basis of a mutual grievance against the North German cities. In effect, the Hansa suffered simultaneously the amputation of a vital member and the aggression of a dangerous rival.

“The moderne forme of the Parliaments of England”

CATHERINE STRATEMAN SIMS*

THE seventeenth century tractate on the procedure of the House of Lords printed below has not been published before, so far as is known to the writer. It is to be found in British Museum Additional Manuscript 26645, one of a collection of nineteen manuscripts which once belonged to Oliver St. John, lord chief justice of the common pleas, and his family.¹ There is neither title page nor author's name on Add. MS. 26645, but the catalogue of Additional Manuscripts identifies the author as Henry Elsynge, who was clerk of the parliaments (that is, of the House of Lords) from 1621 until his death.²

The internal evidence as to authorship is very slight indeed. However, it seems likely and even probable that Henry Elsynge was in fact the author. Though it is undated, the tractate clearly belongs to the first part of the seventeenth century, a period when Elsynge was in constant attendance on the House of Lords, and the account indicates an exceptional familiarity on the part of the author with the procedure of the House, particularly with the duties of the clerk of the parliaments, an office held by Elsynge for many years.

In addition certain sections of the tractate show a considerable similarity of phrase with the relevant portions of Elsynge's well-known book, *The Manner of Holding Parliaments in England*.³ This similarity is most evi-

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¹ Add. MS. 26642, in the same collection, is a copy of Henry Elsynge's *Manner of Holding Parliaments in England*, and Add. MS. 26643, entitled “Expedicio Billarum Antiquitus,” is, I believe, the unpublished fifth chapter of a projected second book of that work. See my article, Catherine Strateman, “Expedicio Billarum Antiquitus,” *American Historical Review*, XLII (January, 1937), 225 ff. The British Museum has at least one other manuscript copy of the tractate printed below, Harl. MS. 6810, ff. 2-18b. The author is not identified on the MS. nor in the catalogue of Harleian Manuscripts.

² He was sworn in as clerk in March, 1620/1. See *Journals of the House of Lords*, III, 41-42, 59-60. There seems to be some uncertainty as to the date of Elsynge's death, but an article in *Notes and Queries*, CLVI (January-June, 1929), 118, says that his will was proved in March, 1635/6. Pollard gives the date of his death as 1640, but he also says that Elsynge became clerk in 1622, which is clearly incorrect. See Albert Frederick Pollard, “Receivers of Petitions and Clerks of Parliament,” *English Historical Review*, LVII (April, 1942), 215, n. 1.

³ The autograph manuscript of this is in the British Museum, Harl. MS. 1342. The printed editions are those of 1660, 1662, 1663, 1675, 1679, and 1768. The last, edited by Thomas Tyrwhit, is by far the best, and all further references will be to this (London) edition of 1768.

dent in the sections on "The first day of the Parliament" and "Their manner of sittinge when in Roabes."⁴

Assuming that this tractate is by Elsynge, we have to decide whether it was written as a separate account of House of Lords' procedure or whether it was intended as a part of the second book of his *Manner of Holding Parliaments*. That the work printed under that title was only part of a larger work is well known. Harl. MS. 1342, Elsynge's own draft of *The Manner of Holding Parliaments*, contains on folio 158 a table of contents, written in the author's hand, for a second book.⁵ It is there indicated that the author planned, in the sixth chapter of that second book, to discuss "Proceedinges on bills at this daye."

On the whole I do not think that the tractate below can be identified as this sixth chapter. Not only is the title, "The moderne forme of the Parliaments of England," different from that planned for the sixth chapter, but the sections of the tractate below are numbered as chapters, which would suggest that it was intended as a complete work in itself, not as a chapter of a larger one. Finally the tractate below contains material, for example, a section on judicature, which does not relate to procedure in passing bills. We know that Elsynge had planned a separate chapter, the fourth, on that subject for his second book. If the tractate below had been written as the sixth chapter, the material on judicature would probably not have been included since that subject was reserved for another chapter.

Although this tractate is probably by Henry Elsynge, I doubt that it was written as the sixth chapter of his second book. It is more likely that the work published under the title of *The Method of Passing Bills in Parliament*⁶ and attributed on the title page to "Henry Elsing, Cler. Par." is the sixth chapter. It contains a description of legislative procedure in the House of Lords in the early seventeenth century, under headings like "Proceedings on Bills," "The Commitment of Bills," "The Manner How Committees are named," "The Third Reading," and "Amendments and Addicions." The subject matter thus corresponds with the title of the proposed sixth chapter, "Proceedinges on bills at this daye." Moreover, the style is reminiscent of Elsynge, particularly the extensive use of precedents to support statements of the author's opinion on doubtful points. I have not been able, however, to find any specific references or statements to identify *The Method of Passing Bills* beyond doubt as the sixth chapter.

⁴ See pp. 292 and 295, below. I have indicated the most striking points of similarity by footnote references.

⁵ See Strateman, in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLII, 227.

⁶ London, 1685.

What seems to be an abstract of the tractate printed below is referred to by Frances Helen Relf in her edition of *Notes of the Debates in the House of Lords Officially Taken by Robert Bowyer and Henry Elsing, Clerks of the Parliaments, A. D. 1621, 1625, 1628*. She speaks of "a thin folio book on procedure in the House of Lords" found among the Stanford Manuscripts, and prints a section from this book entitled "Proceedings in Judicature."⁷ A comparison of this with the section on judicature below shows that, while there is a strong resemblance between the two, the one below is much longer and more detailed than the one referred to and printed by Miss Relf.⁸ We may conjecture that the one is an abstract or brief of the other. I have indicated by asterisks below those portions of the section on judicature which are not to be found in the account printed by Miss Relf.

It will be apparent to those familiar with House of Lords' procedure that "The moderne forme" tells us little, and certainly nothing of great importance, which could not be discovered from a study of the *Journals* of the House. The exception is the section on judicature. This, as Miss Relf observes in commenting on the brief version which she prints, "is the best evidence we have on the position assumed by the Lords in that period."⁹ On the other hand, there is a good deal of information given on interesting points of minor importance, as for example on the question of the occasions when the lords wore their robes in the house, and there is a highly detailed description of the precise procedure followed by the officers of the House in handling bills. The tractate has a special interest to students of seventeenth century procedure because of the rarity of tractates on the procedure of the House of Lords. We have many for this period on House of Commons' procedure but few devoted entirely to the legislative procedure of the upper house. *The Method of Passing Bills*, referred to above, and Henry Scobell's *Remembrances of Methods, Orders, and Proceedings, Heretofore Used and Observed in the House of Lords*¹⁰ are the only other ones, so far as I know. *The Method of Passing Bills* duplicates in some places the material to be found below but has very little on the forms observed in holding Parliament which are so fully described in chapters 1-4 below.¹¹ Nor does it have any material on judicature. In addition, it is more a collection of precedents than a straightforward account such as we find in "The moderne forme." Scobell's work contains a few descriptive paragraphs but consists principally of precedents cited from the *Journals of the House of Lords*. The section on judica-

⁷ Royal Historical Society, *Publications*, Camden Third Series, XLII (London, 1929), ix-x, n. 1.

⁸ See pp. 301-304, below.

⁹ Relf, *op. cit.*, ix, n. 1.

¹⁰ London, 1689.

¹¹ See pp. 291-97, below.

ture (pp. 43-53) and the supplementary sections on writs of error, decrees in chancery, and relief on petitions (pp. 53-65) contain only brief comments on the power and procedure of the House in judicature and consist chiefly of descriptions of cases heard by the House, 1620-1624. Thus, "The moderne forme" has a place and value of its own in the list of seventeenth century tractates on House of Lords' procedure.

[1]¹² The moderne forme of the Parliaments of England:

Cap: 1:

The first day of the Parliament
Which is the first day.
How they appeare.
wherein Their manner of sitting.
The Cause of sumons declared.
The Comand to choose a Speaker.
The Receivers and Tryers of petitions.

Cap: 2.

The second day of the Parliament.
The Speaker is presented
His excuse.
wherein His Speech and petitions.
The Kings Answer thereunto.
The Speakers retourne to the Lower house./
The Adjournement.

Cap: 3:

The third day of the Parliament.
Prayers
The Lords are called.
wherein generall Comittees appointed
The businesse of the day.
The house is adjourned.
The Lords (by Agreement before) take their Oath
of Allegiance.

[1b] Cap: 4:

Their manner of sittinge when in Roabes.

Cap: 5:

Proceedings on Bills.

Cap: 6:

Proceedings in Judicature.

Cap: 7:

The Royall Assent./

[2] The moderne forme of the Parliaments of England:

Cap: 1:

The first day of the Parliament.

¹² Numbers in brackets indicate the pagination of the manuscript. The punctuation and spelling of the manuscript have been preserved except that in most cases abbreviations have been completed.

It is first to bee knowne which is the first day of the Parliament, for it often happens that it doth not hold on the very day mencioned in the writts of Sumons, and yet on that day the Lord Chancellor, and divers other Lords Spirituall and Temporall, are to assemble at the place appointed, and prayers being said by the puisne Bishop then present, the Lord Keeper comandes the Comons to bee called in and delivers unto the Clerke his Majestys writt Pattent, signed with his Majestys owne hand, And sealed with the great Seale for the Prorogacion thereof to a further day.

The Clerke receives the same kneeling, and retournes to his place and reads it, which being done, the Lord Chancellor declares, that the Parliament according to the said writt is prorogued unto the day and place therein mencioned. And soe they all depart./

This may happen to bee done often before the Parliament begins. That day therefore is declared [2b] the first day of the Parliament, when the King himselfe (or Comissioners for him) doe come to the place where it is appointed to bee kept./¹³

The manner of his Majestys comeing for the Order and State thereof, I leave to the Heraulds, and will onely shew what is done in the House that day.

Before the Kings comeing, the Comons repaire to the place appointed for them, But before they enter, the Lord Steward comes into a roome neere adjoyning, where the Clerke of the Crowne calls divers of them by their names, and his Lordship gives them the Oathes of Supremacie and allegiance, and then appoints certaine of them his Deputies to administer the same Oathes unto the rest, and soe they enter into the roome appointed and take their places in Comon one by another *promiscuè*.

The King and the Lords in this meanwhile are at a Sermon (whither they ride in great Solempnity) which being ended, they come in like State to the roome appointed for his Majestie and them. The Lords enter first apparrelled in their Roabes and take their places, Then the King comes and ascends his Royall Throane; Behind the right hand whereof, the Lord Chancellor stands at a Barr prepared, and the Lord Treasurer at the left. Before his Majestie on the left [3] hand is a seate for the Prince of Wales, and on the right hand was anciently a seate for the King of Scotts when they appeared at our Parliaments which is now kept empty./¹⁴

The King and Lords being then placed, the Comons are admitted, and his Majestie (if hee please) doth shew the cause of Sumoning the Parliament, Or else the Lord Chancellor comes from his place with the Seale, and on his knees conferres with the King and at his retourne doth shew the Causes thereof; In conclusion whereof, hee tells the Comons, that it is his Majestys pleasure that they resort to the house appointed for them, and there according to their ancient manner to choose them a Speaker, and present him to his Majestie on a day appointed./¹⁵

This being done, the Clerke stands upp, and reades in french the names of Receivers of Petitions for England, Scotland and Ireland, and within what tyme the same petitions are to bee delivered, which is comonly six dayes then following/.

Then the names of the Receivers of Petitions for Gascoigne and other Lands beyond Seas, and the Jersees with the same tyme for the delivery thereof. And next hee reades the names of the Tryors of Petitions for England, Scotland and

¹³ There is a considerable similarity between this section and a part of Elsynges first book, *The Manner of Holding Parliaments*, pp. 86-87.

¹⁴ Cf. Elsynges, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

Ireland, [3b] They all or any fower calling the Kings Serjeants unto them when need shall require, to meet in the Chamber of the Treasurer; Then hee reads the names of the Tryors of Peticions for Gascoigne &c. And that they all or any fower of them (calling unto them when need shall bee) the Kings Attorney in the Chamber of the Chamberlaine./

All this is read in ffrench, and delivred to the Clerke the day before the Parliament begins by the Lord Chancellor. It is now for forme onely, although anciently there was great use thereof And then none but the Masters of the Chancery and the Clerkes of the Crowne and the Parliament were appointed Receivors, and the Lords of the Councell and Judges Tryors. Whereas now (the use thereof being layd aside) the Judges and Masters of the Chancery are appointed Receivors and the great Lords Tryors.¹⁶

These being read, the Lord Chancellor conferres againe with the King and then being in his place signifies unto what day the Parliament is adjourned, *vizt* to the day when the Speaker is to bee presented, And soe they all depart./

The said Adjournement is thus entred/

*Dominus Cancellarius ex iussu Domini Regis continuabit
praesens Parliamentum usque in Diem vizt. diem in-
stantis hora &c.*

[4] And all Adjournments and prorogacions when the King is present are to bee entred in that maner *vizt: ex iussu Domini Regis* And thus ends the first day, save that the Comons at their returne (after some pawse) one putteth the rest in mynde of his Majestys Comand for Eleccion of a Speaker And naming one (who is formerly intimated to some of them by the King) two or three bring him (though hee seeme unwilling) to the Chaire where hee makes a short speech for an Excuse of his insufficiencie, but at last accepts thereof with a promise to discharge the place imposed upon him, with all care and faithfulness./

The second day of the Parliament.

Cap: 2:

On this day the King comes not in high state as on the first day, yet hee and the Lords are in their Roabes, and his Majestie being placed the Comons are admitted. Their Speaker comes with low obeysances to the middle of the Barre where a small assent is provided for him to stand in, And there hee declares unto the King that the Comons according to his Royall Comand had proceeded to the Eleccion of a Speaker, and had chosen him (though unworthy thereof) desiring (*pro forma tantum*) to bee excused, and [4b] that his Majestie would comand them to make choyce of some other more sufficient to discharge the same./

Then the Lord Chancellor conferres a while on his knees with the King and being retourned to his place (behind the right hand of the State) saith Mr Speaker, his Majestie hath well approved of the Comons choyce, and will not admitt of your excuse herein, or words to that effect./¹⁷

Whereupon the Speaker makes a Speech unto the King such as hee shall please himselfe, having formerly prepared the same (although anciently it was such as the Comons had directed him) And in conclusion thereof, hee prayes a Confirmation of their ancient priviledges, and some tymes nameth these *vizt*./

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 270. See also Pollard, in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, LVII, 223-24.

¹⁷ Cf. Elsyng, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

1. Accesse unto his Majestie.
2. Liberty of speech
3. ffredome from Arreste for themselves and their servants./¹⁸

This done, the Lord Chancellor conferres againe with the King, and being retourned, Answereth the Speakers Speech in his Majestys name, and concludes with his Majestys approbacion of their ancient Priviledges/.

Then the Lord Chancellor conferres againe with the King about the Adjournement of the Parliament and adjournes the same accordingly in his Majestys name. And soe they all depart./

[5] Thus ends the second day of the Parliament/. *Memorand*, That after this Adjournement, the Comons retourne to their owne howse, and the Mace is borne before the Speaker, and hee being placed in his Chaire, directs the Clerke (appointed by the King to serve there) what Bill to reade, which done, all depart./

And note, that the Comons contynue daily in their owne house, and adjourne not the same from day to day as the Lords doe, and come not to the Lords, but upon some Message, the Speaker never comeing unlesse the King bee present, and sends for the Comons, or unlesse the Comons come to demand Judgment of the Lords against some Delinquent whom they have accused, And then at the Speakers entrance, the Serjeant who carries the Mace before him turnes it downe./

The third day of the Parliament./

Cap: 3:

On this day (and ever after) the Lords beginne with prayers, the puisne Bishop reading those that are appointed for that purpose, kneeling at the right end of the Woollsack whereon the Lord Chancellor sitts/.

In the House of Comons also, the Clerke there reads certaine prayers every morneing/ [5b] On this third day the Lords are called, the Clerke reading their names out of a List, which is to bee delivred him by Garter at the begining of evry Parliament, begining with the lowest and ascending upwards,¹⁹ And they who are present Answer to their names. As for those Lords who are absent, either some excuse is made for them (and the same entred) or they send their proxies, which are to bee produced also, or acknowledged to bee received by the Clerke and entred./

Then the Roll of Orders are read *vizt* such generall Orders as they themselves hath formerly made, next, generall Comittees are appointed, one to consider of the Customes and Orders of this House, and of the Priviledges of the Peeres of this Kingdome or Lords of Parliament, with the tyme and place where to meet, And who shall attend their Lordships. Then a Subcommittee of a smaller number is appointed for the same, and to peruse and perfect the Journall Booke./

Then a Comittee to receive Peticons, and to prepare Answers for the same with the Attendance and the tyme and place where to meet. And if there bee tyme, Bills are read this day also./

And if any Lord doth now receive his first writt of Sumons, Whether by Discent or new Creacion, [6] his Lordship is this day most comonly (and may bee any other day) brought into the parliament between two other Lords in their Roabes, and delivers his writt to the Lord Chancellor, which the Clerke receives

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

¹⁹ Cf. Elsyng, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-92: "... beginning with the lowest baron, and so ascending to the highest. ..."

and reads, and then hee is conducted by those two Lords, and by Garter who is to attend for this purpose, and to come in with them with his Coate on) unto his owne place,²⁰ And his Lordships Admittance into that place is to be entred, with a *Salvo iure* to all others./

On this day also (if there bee tyme, but any other day may serve) the Lords are to take the Oath of Allegiance after the house is adjourned, which is administered unto them kneeling, and read most comonly by the Clerke of the Crowne, and sometymes by the Clerke of the Parliament also/

All busines being [*sic*] (aswell on this day as on all other dayes when the King is not present) the Lord Chancellor demands if it bee their Lordships pleasure that the House bee adjourned, and adjournes the same accordingly, which is entred thus.

*Dominus Cancellarius declaravit praesens Parlamentum
continuumdum esse usque in diem &c. vizt. Diem &c. hora
&c. Dominis sic decernentibus./*

And *Memorand*, that the Clerke is to enter all Comittees in a Booke, and every day before the Lord Chancellor adjournes the house, his Lordship wills the Clerke to read the names of the Comittees, And accordingly hee reads the [6b] names of all the Comittees then on foote, that the Lords may know, when and where to meet, and when a Committee is *sine Die*, appoint a new tyme of meeting. And note, that if the Major part of a Committee meet, they may themselves appoint another day, otherwise it is to bee done by the house unlesse power bee given them at the first to meet as often as the said Committee, or such a Number of them shall please from tyme to tyme to tyme [*sic*] to appoint./

The manner how the Lords sitt in Parliament, and when they
sit in their Roabes./

Cap. 4:

The Lords and Comons meet the first day in one Roome together, and when the Speaker is presented, but never sitt together to consult of their businesse, neither doe the Comons with their Speaker come afterwards into the same roome but when the King sends for them, or when they come to exhibite somewhat in generall to his Majestie or come to demand Judgment against Delinquents complained of by them, yet the Lords and they meet often either by Comittees or the whole House (the Speaker excepted) as occasion requires. And this hath been very anciently observed, howbeit upon speciall occasions, the two Houses have sate together as they did 7:^{mo} Jacobi in the Court of Requests when Prince Henry was created Prince of Wales,²¹ [7] and in divers ancient Parliaments upon Judgments on Capitall Delinquents, which is then to bee pronounced by the Lord Steward./

The manner of the Comons sitting in their House is needles to bee shewen, none of them having any certaine place appointed, save their Speaker in a Chaire, and their Clerke at a Table at his feet./

The Lords are placed by Act of Parliament *anno* 31. H: 8. cap. 10. which is thus./²²

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

²¹ *Journals of the House of Lords*, II, 607. Cf. Elsynge, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

²² *Statutes of the Realm*, III, 729-30. Elsynge cites this same statute, *op. cit.*, pp. 107 ff. The wording there strongly resembles that of the following portion here.

The Kings Children by the side of the Cloath of State, the Kings Vicegerent on the right side of the Parliament Chamber above the Archbishop of Canterbury on the same forme.

The Lord Chancellor	being Barons on	Kings sonne
The Lord Treasurer	the left side of	Kings brother
Lord President of the	the Parliament	Kings Uncle
Kings Councill.	Chamber, above	Kings Nephew
Lord Privy Seale.	all Dukes ex-	Kings brother
	cepting the	or sisters
		sonne./

Then are placed by the same Statute above all of the same degrees.

The great Chamberleyne
The Constable
The Earle Marshall
The Lord Admirall
The Lord Steward
The Lord Chamberleyne
Cheife Secretary if a Baron or Bishop.

And if the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord President [7b] of the Kings Councill, Lord Privy Seale, or Cheife Secretary, bee under the degree of a Baron, they are to sitt at the uppermost part of the Woollsacke./

At the right side of the said Chaire of State, the [*sic*] Lordships are thus placed *vizt*: first.

The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.
Lord Archbishop of Yorke.
Lord Bishop of London.
Lord Bishop of Durham.
Lord Bishop of Winchester.

And then all the other Lordships after their Ancienties, as it hath been accustomed; Thus farr goes the Statute of 31: H: 8: the rest of the Lords sitt on this manner.

The Earles sitt on the first forme on the left hand of the State, and on the first forme acrossse the House, beneath the Clerkes woollsacke./

The Viscounts sitt on the fformes next to the Earles beneath the Clerks woollsack. The Barons sitt beneath the Earles on the second forme on the left hand of the State, and on divers fformes acrossse the house beneath the Viscounts./

The Lord Chancellor in the Kings absence sitts on the first woollsack thwart the house, below the Chaire of State, the Seale and Mace by him. But when hee gives his Voate, or speakes as a peere, then hee removes to the first fforme above all others on the left hand of the State./

The Judges sitt on the inner sides of the two woollsacks, the one being along the right side, and the [8] other being on the left side of the house. The Kings learned Councill sitt on the outside of the woollsacks next the Earles, The Masters of the Chancery sitt by the learned Councill, and on the outside of the Woollsack towards the Bishops./

The Clerkes of the Crowne and Parliament sitt on a Woollsacke crosse the middle of the house,²³ with a Table before them to write on. And the Clerke of

²³ See A. F. Pollard, "The Clerk of the Crown," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, LVII (July, 1942), 313.

the Parliament hath one or two Clerks who kneele behind the Woolsack. The gentleman Usher sitts without the Barr/.

When the King is present, none of the Lords are covred but doe sitt downe. The Judges and others stand upp till his Majestie wills them to sitt downe. When the King is absent, the Lords at their coming in doe reverence to the State, and salute one another and then sitt downe./

The Judges sitt also, but are not covered, untill the Lord Chancellor signifies the Lords pleasure therein, The Kings Councell and the Masters of the Chancery doe sitt but are never covred./²⁴

When the King sends his Comission to hold the Parliament, the Lords Comissioners after it is read, remove from their place to a seate prepared for them on the right hand of the State *prout Anno* 28°. Eliza:²⁵ But *anno* 51. E: 3. Richard Prince of Wales sat in the Chaire of State,²⁶ And when the King sends a Comission to prorogue or dissolve the Parliament the [8b] Comissioners (after it is read) sitt on a fforme athwart the house next below the State/

The Lords sitt in their Roabes whensoever the King is present, if they have notice thereof, And when their Lordships give Judgment on Delinquents complained of, or accused by the Comons, or *ex parte Domini Regis*.

And when the King sends his Royall assent unto any one Bill or more by his lettres Pattents, or sends a Comission to adjourne prorogue or dissolve the Parliament *sedent Curia*./

But if the Parliament bee adjourned or prorogued by the King *sedent Curia*, and afterwards the King intends to prorogue the same againe to a further day, or to dissolve the same, in these cases the Lords doe not appeare in their Roabes, for that the King himselfe never used to bee present at such Prorogacions when the Court did not sitt./²⁷

Proceedings on Bills.

Cap: 5./

If a Bill begin in the upper house, the same is most comonly delivered unto the Clerke of the Parliament and may bee unto any Lord/.

The Clerke acquaints the Lord Chancellor presently therewith, and at his Comand, or by appointment of the House it is read in this manner, *vizt.* first hee goes to the Lord Chancellor, and there on his knees doth shew the Bill, and demands whether hee shall read the Bill or not: And then retournes to the Table and there reads it, which [9] being done, hee indorseth it thus *1a. vice lecta die*, and delivers the same with a Briefe thereof in paper. The Lord Chancellor being uncovred, reads the Briefe and concludes, this is the first reading, delivering the same back unto the Clerke, who receives the same kneeling And noate, that the Clerke never speakes to the Lord Chancellor when his Lordship sitts in his place, but on his knees.

The second reading is very seldome on the same day, but is performed with the like Ceremony, and being read, the Clerke delivers it to the Lord Chancellor having first indorsed it thus. *2a. vice lecta die*—and his Lordship reades the Title onely, and demands whether their Lordships bee pleased to comitt the same, or that it bee ingrossed./

²⁴ Cf. Elsynge, *op. cit.*, p. 112: "The king's council and the masters of the chancery sit, but are never covered."

²⁵ *Journals of the House of Lords*, II, 117.

²⁶ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, III, 361.

²⁷ Cf. Elsynge, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94.

The Committees are thus named, *vizt* first they agree of the Number of each Bench, then the Earles first, next the Bishops, and lastly the Barons are named, And the Clerke is to observe who are first named of each Bench (for they are named *promiscuè* by many Lords together) and as the number of each Bench is full, hee stands upp and reads them before the other Bench is named. Then some of the Judges or Kings learned Councell, are appointed to attend the Committee, and their [9b] names read, and lastly the tyme and place for meeting, and the same is read also. And soe the Bill is delivered to the first of that Committee. And note that the Lord who speaks for the Bill is to bee of the Committee, but hee who speakes against it, is not, and if the Bill concerns the office of any Lord as the Lord Treasurer, Privy Seale, Admirall or the like, hee is to bee of the Committee, though not named at the first, and to have notice thereof if hee bee absent. Noe other Lord being absent is to bee of the Committee And this order is observed for all Committees: And noate, that the Lord Chancellor although a Bishop is ranked with the Earles, and when hee gives his Vote or opinion in any thing removes to the upper end of the Earles Bench/.

The Committee having mett, and prepared the Bill for a third reading, report their opinion to the House, which is done by the first of the Committee, All of them standing upp and uncovred. Att this Report any of the said Committee may alter their opinions, and give their reasons for the same. Any other Lord may shew his opinion also therein, either at the Report or at the Comittment thereof/.

If their Lordships bee not satisfied with this Report, then the Bill may bee recomitted, and others may bee added, but it cannot bee recomitted after it is putt to the Vote. If the Committee doe approve of the Sense of the Bill, but mislike the forme thereof, they may cause a new Bill to bee drawne, and present the same with the former, which is to receive two [10] Readings before it bee comitted, or ordered to bee ingrossed/.

If the Committee doe agree on Amendments or addicions, the Clerke reads the same once, and then delivers the Bill with the said Amendments or addicions (in paper by themselves, and with direccions where to insert the same) unto the Lord Chancellor, who reades how the Bill was before, and how if it bee thus amended, and opens the effect of the Addicions, then the Clerke presently reads the same Amendments and Addicions againe, which done the Lords may dispute the same, if they bee not satisfied therein, then the Lord Chancellor demands, if the Bill shall bee ingrossed, and (if agreed on) it is ordered soe to bee. And note, that a Bill is seldome absolutely rejected before the third reading, neither can bee rejected without the Question./

The third reading in this manner the Lord Chancellor (unto whom the Clerke doth every morning deliver a noate of the Bills, and all other busines depending) acquaints the Lords that such a Bill is ready for a Third reading, and propounds it to bee read, and if it bee not denyed, the Clerke first reads the Title thereof, and then the Bill, and soe delivers it to his Lordship, who demands if it shall bee putt to the Question, Then any small matter (thought fitt to bee altered) may bee presently amended at the Clerkes Table, but nothing of great Consequence, neither [10b] can it bee recomitted, but might have been before the third reading./

If it bee agreed to bee putt to the Question, the same is done on this manner, *vizt.* the Lord Chancellor reads the Title of the Bill, and holding it in his hands, saith to this effect./

This Bill is now read the third tyme, such of your Lordships as are of opinion, that this Bill is fitt to passe, say content, and they which are of a contrary opinion, say not content./

And noate, that all Questions are putt on this manner, and although a Bill is not ordinarily putt to the Question before it bee read thrice, yet a Question may bee (though seldome) for the first or second reading before the Comittment or any other proceeding thereon whatsoever./

And noate, that all Questions are to bee in this manner, and are to bee such as noe Answer either I or noe may serve without any distinction./

The Bill being read the third tyme with the Lords, it is to bee sent downe to the Comons, when the Lords agree thereunto. the Clerke writeth these words in the lower end of the Bill *vizt.*—*Soit baile aux Comons*, and it is either sent alone (which happens seldome) or with others soe read also, and is to bee sent by some of the Judges learned Councell, or Masters of the Chancery, (as the Lords please) who coming to the house of Comons, doe (after admittance) with solempne obeysance [11] deliver the same, and retourne an Answer.

The House of Comons doe there read the same three tymes also in like manner, and if their Committee report anything to bee amended, it is written in paper, with a direction in what Lyne, and between what words the same are to bee inserted./

If they thinke fitt that anything bee added, the same is first written in paper also, and reported to their house, The which Amendments and addicions are there read twice, and (if approved of) the Addicions onely are to bee ingrossed, And then after the Bill with these Amendments in paper, and the addicions or provisoes engrossed and fyled to the Bill are read the third tyme and putt to the Question. They which give their votes with the Bill speake all at once and say I, and noe more, they which are against the Bill, speake likewis altogether and say noe. And if the Bill doth passe by most voyces, then their Clerke doth write under the *Baile* from the Lords *vizt.* *A ceste avesque les Amendments et addicions* (or provisions) *annexe les Comons sont assentu.*/

And on the topp of the said Addicions or Provisoos hee writes these words *vizt.* *Soit baile aux Seigneurs*/

The Amendments (I say) are to bee in paper; and to bee fastned to the Bill, but if there bee [11b] neither Amendments nor Addicions, then the Clerke writes onely these words under the *Baile* from the Lords *vizt.* *A cest Bill les Comons sont assentu.*/

And it is to be understood, that when any proposicion is made, or any Bill read and argued, noe man can speake his opinion but once at that tyme unto the same, unlesse hee bee required, or hath leave to expound himselfe./

And if a Question bee putt, and it cannot bee discerned whether the affirmative or negative voyces bee most, Then the Lords (in their House) appoint one of the Contents and one of the not Contents to number them. And if need bee they call for the Proxies of the absent Lords whereat the Clerke must shew his Booke, where they are entred, and as the Lords give the Votes of their Proxies, soe they are to bee reckoned, ffor a Lord may give his Proxie either with or contrary to his owne Voate, or if hee hath divers Proxies, hee may give some one way, and some the other way./

With the Comons if it cannot bee discerned how the Question is past, all that say I goe forth, and all that say noe sitt still and are numbred, Then the I is counted as they enter, and if the voyces bee equall, the Speaker hath the casting voyce, otherwise hee hath noe voyce, whereas in the upper house, the Lord Chancellor (if a Lord of Parliament) gives his Vote to all Questions, removing to the uttermost place of the Earles.

[12] The Bill being thus past in the Lower House also, it is retourned either alone or with divers others on this manner by one of the Comons thereunto ap-

pointed, and attended by divers others of that house. *vizt.* first they signifie unto the gentleman Usher, that they have a Message unto their Lordships from the Comons. And then when their Lordships have in some sort settled the busines in Agitacion (for they use not to breake off abruptly to receive any such Message) the Comons are admitted.

Hee that brings the Bill or delivers any Message from them comes in first accompanied with a considerable number of others (otherwise the Lords have refused his Message if but slenderly accompanied) and goeth to the lowest end of the house/.

Then the Lord Chancellor being come to the middle of the Barr (with the Seale) the Messinger (and the rest) approacheth with low reverence, and standing up on the assent prepared (as I said) for the Speaker, delivers the Bills and the Message (if hee hath any) unto the Lord Chancellor. And soe with like obeysances depart. And if they deliver Bills onely, they stay for noe Answer, but if they bring a Message they stay without expecting an Answer. The Lord Chancellor being retourned to his place, acquaints the Lords what Bills are soe sent, and what Message is delivered.

If their Lordships can agree upon a present Answer to the Message, then the said Comons are called [12b] in againe, and come directly to the Barr with low obeysances. And the Lord Chancellor sitting in his place and covred, doth openly deliver the Answer, and soe they depart without any Reply/.

If the Lords cannot agree upon a present Answer yet they are called in, and the Lord Chancellor tells them, that the Lords have heard their Message and will consider thereof, and send them an Answer./&c.

If the Amendments sent upp by the Comons bee soe many that the Bill cannot bee well amended, in this case, the Amendments and the addicions are to bee read twice, and if their Lordships approve thereof the Bill is to bee new written, and the said Amendments and addicions inserted, and soe read the third tyme and putt to the Question, and if it passe by most voyces, then it is to bee subscribed as before *Soit baille aux Comons*. And a Conference is to bee prayed with the Comons by a Speciall Message to that purpose, *vizt.* That whereas the Lords had sent to the Comons such a Bill, which was returned to their Lordships with many Amendments &c. which their Lordships allowed of. But for that the said Amendments are soe many, that they cannot bee comprised in the same parchment, therefore their Lordships have caused the same Bill with the said Amendments &c. to bee new written, and have past the same by Voate, with the ordinary subscripcion, and doe desire a Conference therein by a Comittee of such a number, to meet in such a place, and at such a tyme &c./

[13] If the Comons accept of this Conference, there the Bill which was first sent unto them, and returned with the Amendments, are to bee compared with that soe newly written, And the new Bill and the old to be delivered unto the Comons to bee carried unto their house for their satisfaccion and consent to bee subscribed. And if the Comons give their consent then the said Bill soe new written is to bee sent upp to the Lords againe, and soe it is expedited. The Comons are to retourne the old Bill also with the Amendments &c./

If the Comons retourne to the Lords a Bill with Amendments or Addicions, and the Lords doe mislike them, and are yet willing to speed the Bill, their Lordships may either by Message or by Conference (which is the most usuall) demand an Amendment of the said Amendments, or other alteration or Addicions but the Lords cannot otherwise amend or alter the same./

Soe if the Comons send upp a Bill of their owne the Lords and they are to proceed in the same manner, as upon Bills sent downe to the Comons./

If the one house send a Bill to the other, and they unto whom it is sent, doe like the matter well, but mislike the forme thereof, they may draw a new Bill, and a Conference or Message (but that is not usuall) desire the old Bill to sleepe, and the new to bee proceeded in. But in such case the old Bill is not to bee putt to the Question before, & both the Bills are to bee sent, as the one may bee [13b] compared with the other./

If a Bill bee exhibited, read twice, comitted and reported not fitt to passe, the party cannot exhibit a new Bill for that matter in the same Session (though it bee altred in such things as are misliked) unlesse the Committee doe also report their opinion for a new Bill, or it be specially ordered by the house./

If the Comons send upp any Bill of their owne unto the Lords, the same is to have these words on the topp thereof *vizt. Soit baille aux Seigneurs*. And if the Lords assent unto the same, these words are to bee written next under the said inscripcion *vizt. A ceste Bill les Seigneurs sont assentus*./

The Subsidie Bill of the Clergie begins on this manner with the Lords. The Archbishop of Canterbury and in his absence the eldest Bishop in that Diocesse presents the Subsidie grannt of that Province fairly engrossed in Parchment unto the Lords./

The Lord Chancellor delivers it to the Clerke, and hee to Mr. Attorney to draw and engrosse a short Preamble and a Confirmation thereof. The Preamble is annexed by it selfe unto the topp of the Bill, and the Confirmation at the bottome. In which Confirmation the Subsidie to bee granted by the Province of Yorke, is to bee confirmed also, which done and soe annexed, it is read as other Bills are, and soe past by vote and sent to the Comons for their consent also: And note, that the *Baille* to the Comons, is to bee written at the Lower [14] end of the Confirmation./

The Subsidie of the Temporalty, doth ever begine with the Comons, And by them sent upp to the Lords who read it and passe it as other Bills./

The generall Pardon is sent imediatly from the King signed by himselfe, and is first read with the Lords and that but once, and sent to the Comons with the ordinary Subscripcion./

Proceedings in Judicature.²⁸

*In Judgments against Delinquents (whereof I will onely speake in this place) are to bee considered,

1. The Accusacion
2. The Answer.
3. The Replicacion
4. The Proofes
5. The Judgment
6. The Execucion.

The Accusacion.*

The Accusacion may be by the Comons. By Informacion *Ex parte Domini Regis*. By Complaints of private persons.

The Accusacion of the Comons ought to bee by the Comons alone, the Lords are not to ioynе therein, ffor such hath been adjudged erronious./

²⁸ Material between asterisks is not to be found in the account of judicature printed by Miss Relf. See p. 290, above.

If the Comons exhibite noe Articles neither in writing nor by word of mouth by their Speaker at the Barr, then it is onely a Complaint, And in such [14b] cases, the Proceedings therein are left to the Lords, and they cause it to bee proceeded in *ex parte Domini Regis*, *and it is not necessary that the Comons should bee further acquainted therewith, unlesse the Comons doe in that Complaint require that the Proceedings bee in their presence, or unlesse it be for Capitall causes,* for in cases Capitall, whosoever complaines, the Comons are to bee acquainted with the cause, *the Answer, and the Judgment; And also in such cases, the Court of requests hath been usually prepared for their presence./

If the Comons doe impeach the party accused that is to exhibite Articles, or any other Declaracion against him in writing, or by their Speaker, then the suyte is theirs, and they are to bee privy to all Proceedings against the Party accused. They are to have a Copie of the Answer, and may reply unto the same. They are to exhibite the Interrogatories and the names of their Wittnesses to bee examined, and produce such proofes as they have against him, & have Copies of the Examinacions. Judgment is not to bee given till they demand it, and then to bee done in their presence, of all which, there are divers ancient presidents./.*

The Informacion *ex parte Domini Regis* is by the Kings Attorney or other of his Majestys learned Councell, either in writing or by word of mouth/.

The Complaint of private persons is either by Petitions, or Articles in writing./

The Answer.

*The Party thus accused, is to bee brought to his Answer. If hee cannot bee found, Proclamacions [15] are to bee sent into the Country where hee dwells, and into all Shires (if the matter bee Capitall or of great moment) requiring the party to appeare at a day therein expressed, with a Comand to the Sheriffs for their apprehencion. And if there bee any further Proceedings against him before the retourne, it is erroneous./

If the Party bee a Member of the upper house, then in cases of misdemeanor onely, hee is not barred of his liberty, but may keepe his place till Judgment, save at the examination, or at the debate of the Censure upon him./.*

In all cases Capitall, the Party accused is to Answer as a Prisoner, and in misdemeanors (anciently) as a ffreeman. In cases Capitall, the Party accused is allowed noe Councell *per legem Terrae*: In cases of misdemeanor they are to bee allowed Councell (according to the ancient Presidents) and the Answer may bee delivred in Writing, or by word of mouth as hee please, But in cases Capitall, by word of mouth onely./

*The Replication

The Copie of the Answer is to bee delivred unto the Comons, if they did impeach the party, and shall demand it of the Lords either by Message or at a Conference. And the Comons having considered thereof, may reply thereunto, and send it to the Lords whereof the Party accused, is to have a Copie also, when hee requires it of the Clerke./

The like is to bee observed, where the Accusacion [15b] is by a private person/.

Where the King is Party, his learned Councell may require a Copie of the Answer from the Clerke, and reply thereunto./

The Proofes.

The proofes are to bee produced by the Party Complainant.* All Examinacions are to bee taken by the Lords onely, or such as they shall appoint. The Comons

can examine none upon oath. *The Party Complainant is also to have Copies of these Examinacions if they require it. And the Delinquent also for misdemeanor. The Kings Testimony was received at the Tryall of Mortimer *Anno* 4: E: 3: and of the Duke of Clarence *anno* 18. E. 4: ²⁹ in cases Capitall. The first was afterwards reversed as erroneous, And the Comons protested against the second, and the execucion stayed at their suyte./*

The Judgment./

It is very evident by many ancient Records, that all Judgments in Parliaments belong to the Lords And that the Comons can iudge noe man. In cases of misdemeanor the Lords Spirituall and Temporall are the Judges, but the Temporall Lords onely in cases Capitall/.

When the Party accused hath Answered, is replied unto, and Copies thereof delivred &c. and Judgment is demanded, then the Lords are to consider of the Accusacion, of the Answer, and the proofes. And although the King was anciently used to bee present (if hee pleased) at all the former proceedings, yet when the Lords were to debate what Judgment the Party accused [16] deserved, then his Majestie was not present neither in cases Capitall nor misdemeanors, *as appears by all Presidents (one onely excepted *anno* 7^{mo}. R: 2.) against the Bishop of Norwich and his Captaines./³⁰

The Bishops were ever Partyes unto all Judgments in cases of misdemeanor. but in cases Capitall, they never might bee present neither at the debate thereof nor at the sentence./*

*When the Lords have considered of the ffact complayned of, and the proofes, the Law of the Land did anciently direct them what Judgment to give in cases Capitall, from which they would not swerve (I will not say they could not) But I observe, that when the Lords *annis* 11: *et* 21: Rich: 2: did extend their Judgments beyond the Law, there passed speciall Acts for the same by consent of the Comons.³¹

In cases of misdemeanor also, they did not anciently sett downe what ffine in certaine should bee paid unto the King but adjudged the Delinquent unto prison untill hee had Answered the King *de fine suo competente sibi inde debito*, the which fine was afterwards rated by their Lordships.* Now the ffine to the King is specially named in their Judgments and afterwards quallified upon the Delinquents petition if their Lordships see cause./

In Judgments of misdemeanor, when the Lords are agreed of their sentence, then they putt on their Roabes, and the Comons (if they bee Accusers) are sent for, who come with their Speaker to the [16b] Barr, and the Lord Chancellor,³² sitting in his place on the Woollsack, doth openly pronounce the same *out of a paper wherein it is written, unto which noe Reply is made. In cases Capitall I cannot say what is now in use, for none such have proceeded these hundred yeares, but the ancient order was thus./³³

The Court of Requests or some such other place, was fitted for the Lords and Comons to sitt together. The Lords were in their Roabes: The Lord Steward sat

²⁹ For the first, see *Rot. Parl.*, II, 52-53, 255-56. For the second, *ibid.*, VI, 193-95, but it was 17 Edward IV, not 18.

³⁰ *Rot. Parl.*, III, 152 ff.

³¹ *Ibid.*, III, 237 ff., 367.

³² In the version printed by Miss Relf, the word "Keeper" is used, in place of "Chancellor."

³³ Of the preceding two paragraphs, the version printed by Miss Relf has only a few sentences. *Op. cit.*, x, n. 1.

in the Lord Chancellors place. The Delinquent was brought to the Barr, the Accusacion read unto him, unto which hee Answered without Councell. Then proofes were produced, and his excepcions thereunto being heard, the Lord Steward adjourned the Court And soe they departed for that tyme. And either the same day or at some other tyme agreed on, they repayred to their owne house, and there discussed the busines apart by themselves; And when they were agreed they acquainted the King therewith, and humbly prayed his assent, which being obteyned, then at the tyme appointed in the Adjournement, the Lords and Comons mett againe as before./

And the Lord Steward being placed, and Judgment demanded by the Party Complainant, it was pronounced by his Lordship./*

And note, that in such cases noe Judgment for death can bee given until his Majestie agree thereunto./

In Judgments of death, the execucion was anciently according to the quallitie of the person. If a Peere, then the Earle Marshall did see it executed, if [17] a private person, then an inferior officer./

All flynes at the end of a Parliament were extreated into the Chancery and from thence unto the Exchequer and there leavyed. *All other Judgments (if not moderated afterwards) were executed according to the sentence given./*

The Royall Assent./

Cap: 7:

When the Parliament drawes towards an end, the Clerke sends to the King a List of the Bills. And when the Clerke hath notice of the tyme his Majestie intends to give his Royall assent, hee is to goe to the King himselfe with a List in parchment of all the Bills past both Houses, and also with the Bills themselves. Then hee is to read the Title of each Bill unto his Majestie and to receive his Royall Answer unto every one apart by it selfe, and to noate in the List, what Bills the King will not assent unto, And soe hee departs to the Parliament expecting his Majestys comeing. And when his Majestie is come and placed, The Comons are sent for, and the Speaker comes to the Barr with the Subsidy Bill for the Temporalty in his hand (which is to bee sent him by the Clerke) and after some short speech as the tyme requires and thanks for his Majesties gracious pardon (if any bee) hee humbly prayes the Royall assent to the Bills past both Houses, and his gracious [17b] acceptance of that Subsidie grannted by the Comons, and soe delivers it unto the Clerke./

There the Clerke of the Crowne making low obeysance to the King reads the Title of each Bill, and the Clerke of the Parliament the Kings Answer,³⁴ which being done, the Lord Keeper conferres with his Majestie and being retourned to his place, doth prorogue or dissolve the Parliament according to his Majestys comand, and soe the Parliament departs./

The Royall assent is thus written on the topp of every Bill in the inside at the right hand thereof./

To a publique Bill *le Roy le veult.*

To a private Bill, *Soit faict come ill est desire.*

His Majestys denyall thus to all Bills *Le Roy sadvisera*

To the Subsidy Bill of the Temporalty *Le Roy remerciant tous les Loiaux Subjects accepte leur benevolence et ainsi le veult./*

³⁴ See Pollard, in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, LVII, 319.

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To the Bill of Subsidie for the Clergie thus. *Le Roy remerciant les Prelatts, accepte leur benevolence et ainsi le veult.*

The Pardon thus *Le Roy le veult.*

And *Memorand* that the Pardon is to bee signed on the topp with the Kings owne hand./

[18] The Kings warrant to the Lord Chancellor to make out the severall Writts of Sumons./

The severall fformes of the severall Writts.

The Kings Lycence to bee absent from Parliament.

The Proxie.

The Comission to hold the Parliament when the King cannot bee present.

Here may
bee added.

The Comission to supply the Lord Chancellors place./

The Writt signed by the King to prorogue the Parliament before it is begun./

The Comission to progogue or adjourne the Parliament after it is begun/.

The Writt Pattent for the Royall assent unto the Bills when the King doth not please to bee present/.

The Comission to dissolve the Parliament.

And a Copie of the general orders of the house./

ffinis:

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

THE POETRY OF HISTORY: THE CONTRIBUTION OF LITERATURE AND LITERARY SCHOLARSHIP TO THE WRITING OF HISTORY SINCE VOLTAIRE. By *Emery Neff*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1947. Pp. viii, 258. \$3.50.)

MR. Neff never quite defines "poetry" as he uses the word in this arresting title. But his earlier studies on Carlyle and Mill, and his recent *A Revolution in European Poetry* (1940), with which *The Poetry of History* is carefully integrated, show that he has a clear point of view and a definite purpose. He is in rebellion against the scientific positivism which perhaps reached its culmination in Herbert Spencer, and which in its vulgar, simple form has continued to this day to provide the nearest thing to a philosophy held by hundreds of thousands of common intellectuals. It seems too bad to apply to Mr. Neff a method that savors of the skeptical side of the scientific attitude he so distrusts; but one way to define his position is to say that he prefers Michelet to Ranke, the nineteenth century to the eighteenth century, and that words like "poetry," "Romanticism," "art" seem to set up pleasant feelings inside him, words like "science," "mechanical," "matter-of-fact," "objectivity," if not unpleasant feelings, at least annoyingly ambivalent ones.

This book is essentially a series of essays in historiography. Mr. Neff does not, however, attempt to catalogue everything and everybody, on the scale of the late J. W. Thompson's *History of Historical Writing*. He has chosen historians, from Voltaire to Toynbee, whose work has been a part of literature, or, at the very least, has in some way borne the mark of literary influence. Not all the writers he deals with were artists, men of letters. Niebuhr and Müller at the beginning, Toynbee at the end of Mr. Neff's book, were not men of letters in the sense that Carlyle and Michelet were. From Voltaire through Herder, Vico, Niebuhr, Müller, Chateaubriand, Scott, Thierry, Carlyle, Michelet, Renan, Burckhart and Green to Spengler and Toynbee, Mr. Neff has written agreeably and informatively, holding always to his central theme that really good historical writing is an art, and therefore a part of the literary heritage of the race. The result is lively, readable, and provocative. Compared to these essays, a book like Gooch's *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* is simply a dull compilation.

This is not the place to debate with Mr. Neff over his central philosophical position. In the eternal struggle of the Head and the Heart, Mr. Neff is with the Heart. But he is no dogmatist, and no man to pour out the baby with the bath. He clearly has a respect for the many achievements that mark the long tradition of European rationalism—even for the achievements that mark its more brief modern subphase of scientific positivism. It is probable, therefore, that he does

not really wish to go as far as he seems to go here in condemning Ranke and "scientific" history as our spiritual fathers practiced it. Mr. Neff's writings are themselves good proof that the present generation has emancipated itself from the innocence (was it such innocence at that?) of *wie es eigentlich gewesen*.

Harvard University

CRANE BRINTON

OUR EVOLVING CIVILIZATION: AN INTRODUCTION TO GEOPACIFICS; GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECTS OF THE PATH TOWARD WORLD PEACE. By *Griffith Taylor*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1946. Pp. xv, 370. \$4.25.)

BASED on a series of lectures given at Cornell University in 1944, Dr. Taylor's analysis of the geographic basis of civilization follows a definitely "environmentalist" pattern. The pendulum of thought which supports his thesis swings from geology to anthropology, from climatology to evolution, and finally comes to rest on the geopolitical problems of the modern world. If one has the patience to follow the author's reasoning through such byroads as linguistic origins and cultural changes during the Dark Ages, he will find a hard core of interesting and rather unique geographic theory.

Dr. Taylor begins his argument with an analysis of climates and topographic patterns. He climaxes the first portion of the book by application of these concepts to the population pattern of Australia, with which he has long been familiar, and by demonstrating his conclusions with his ingenious hythergraph analysis. The stage being set for his coming, man is then introduced on the geographic stage and climactic changes invoked to account for his differentiation, his present distribution, and his previous migrations. The application of the "zones and strata" theory, long familiar among biologists, to human distribution is also documented and discussed. And finally, he sketches the relationship between geography and the distribution of human blood groups.

Part Two is largely devoted to a general application of the "zones and strata" concept to the distribution of languages, religions, and differing cultures. The last chapter in this section is an attempt to relate the geomorphology of Northwest Europe to its cultural evolution from Neolithic times to the present. Unfortunately, the clarity of the evidence is somewhat obscured by a plethora of historical data often not clearly related to the primary argument, that geography has been an important factor in cultural evolution and distribution.

Turning to the modern scene, Dr. Taylor reviews briefly the salient characteristics of certain aboriginal, oriental, and medieval towns. For purposes of contrast, he follows this with a description of four Canadian towns of varying size and stages of development. He climaxes this section with a discussion of the primary geographic factors which have influenced such cities as Toronto, Chicago, and London, and concludes with Canberra, a planned city. Unfortunately, his treatment of Chicago is quite incomplete and left this reader badly informed as

to the author's concept of the governing geographic conditions. By contrast, the discussion of Toronto is complete and lucid.

The fourth section of the book is concerned with the subject matter advertised on the jacket. Its title, "Geopolitics and Geopacifcs" is provocative to either geographer or historian. Geopacifcs is described as "an attempt to base the teachings of freedom and humanity upon real geographical deductions; it is humanized Geopolitics." Despite this opening definition, the first two chapters deal primarily with the familiar analysis of climate versus human progress, distribution of natural resources, and the relation between the geology and geography of Europe and military operations. The peace treaties drawn after World War I on the basis of "self-determination" resulted in boundaries which produced political "sore spots." The results of World War II will probably be no better. Elimination of these "sore spots" may well be accomplished by exchange of populations.

But the major "geopacific" method proposed for dealing with the problems of Europe is to divide it into "crop-power" blocs, in each of which there is an important source of power and of crop units. Thus "Bloc I" would include Norway, the British Isles, Belgium, France, Spain, and Portugal. "Bloc II" would be composed of Sweden, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, etc. Each "bloc" would include contiguous regions wherein the "economic factors suggest certain rather natural associations." Unfortunately the fact that much of the population in "Bloc I" is dependent on other areas for a considerable part of its food, which may in its turn have a profound effect on natural economic associations, is not considered.

The last chapter describes some regions, now essentially unsettled, which may serve as future homes for men. Canada is used to illustrate the five main stages of regional development (fish, fur, forests, farms, and factories). The major regions are analyzed in terms of their potential utilization, as compared with similar areas in Europe. It is only a step further to analyze the possibilities of all "the empty lands of the world." Using Europe as standard and "saturated," and the European standard of living (prewar), Canada should eventually support 100,000,000 people, the United States 500,000,000, etc.

The applications of Dr. Taylor's "Geopacifcs" will be better understood by future readers of his interesting book if the last two pages are read first. By way of explanation, one can do no better than quote a portion of his final paragraph: "'Geopacifcs' is an attempt to base the teachings of freedom and humanity upon real geographical deductions. . . . It shows . . . where the leading nations must arise; be it understood to *lead* not to conquer. . . . There is no 'yellow race' and no 'white race' so that there cannot be biological conflicts between them. . . . It shows that we should study environmental control so as to advance in harmony with our environment."

Our Evolving Civilization is a thoughtful and provocative book, well worth the attention of the serious reader.

Washington, D. C.

DAVID M. DELO

OUR VICHY GAMBLE. By *William L. Langer*, Coolidge Professor of History, Harvard University. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. Pp. ix, 412, xi. \$3.75.)

PROFESSOR Langer's latest work maintains and indeed increases the high reputation earned by his scholarly volumes on Bismarckian and post-Bismarckian Europe. No better choice could have been made when Secretary Hull, who had been passionately denounced as a reactionary for his policy towards Vichy France, desired an unbiased verdict from a professional historian on a singularly complicated issue. Such a task naturally involved unrestricted access to the official material, and the documentary researches were reinforced by discussion with leading actors in the drama. He has made the best possible use of his opportunities and he quickly wins the confidence of the reader. If his verdict is one of general approval of the official policy, that is obviously the result, not the presupposition, of his studies. No American can feel enthusiastic about a course which involved co-operation with degenerate Frenchmen of faint heart, tepid patriotism, or open pro-Germanism. From the first England had no dealings with the Vichy clique, but the position of the United States was different since it entered the war at a much later stage. The real test of the policy was not whether it corresponded to the sentiments and sympathies of the ordinary citizen, but whether there was any better way of serving the cause of the Allies. Professor Langer definitely concludes that there was not.

The chief reason for this verdict, as he shows in detail, was that the Vichy government was not, as most unofficial observers believed, homogeneous. The three leading actors on the stage, Pétain, Laval, and Darlan, are here so vividly portrayed that there can be no further doubt about their respective attitudes. The marshal himself, a vain, feeble old man, long past his prime, was never for a moment pro-German, and it was a gross abuse of justice to condemn him as a traitor. England he loved and understood as little as most Frenchmen, yet he never desired our defeat and in the later stages secretly rendered such limited help as was in his power. Laval, nominally his subordinate but thanks to Hitler the real master of the situation, removed all ambiguity as to his attitude by the celebrated declaration that he eagerly desired and confidently expected a German victory. The sole redeeming feature in the character of this contemptible *arriviste* was that he never hid his conviction that the only future for his country was to feed out of Hitler's hand.

With the nominal conversion of Darlan we reach the most controversial episode in the whole story. The author fully understands our intense repugnance to co-operating with that notorious Anglophobe who deserted the sinking ship and turned up in Northwest Africa shortly after the landing of the Allies. The decision was taken by General Eisenhower on purely military grounds, and there can be little doubt that from the purely practical angle it was not unwise. None the less it was a bitter pill for the Allies to swallow. The present reviewer turned with even greater eagerness to the explanation why Washington frowned on the fearless soldier who raised the banner of Free France in the darkest days of 1940. That

General de Gaulle was temperamentally difficult was apparent to everybody, but that was no reason for the United States government to ignore or belittle him. What, then, was the reason? Because, we are told, he offered no effective alternative to Vichy, and support for him would have involved a break with the latter.

He had no demonstrable following in France or even among Frenchmen outside France. Everywhere he had the reputation of being a man personally vain and ambitious, self-centred and almost impossible to deal with. . . . He appealed of course to the heroic sentiments of many Americans, but the Department of State could hardly have been expected to deal in terms of sentiment. As a political reality he had but little to offer us.

Though Professor Langer admits that the State Department "seems to have underestimated the extent of de Gaulle's following," he thinks the official policy was right. "Unless one can demonstrate that de Gaulle and his movement could have contributed more effectively to American interests than could the connexion with Vichy, the whole argument against our policy falls flat." But how can anyone "demonstrate" such a thesis? If there is any point at which an English reader of this fascinating and powerful work finds some difficulty in accepting the author's verdict, it is here.

Chalfont St. Peter, England

G. P. GOOCH

DARK DECEMBER: THE FULL ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF THE BULGE. By *Robert E. Merriam*. (Chicago: Ziff-Davis. 1947. Pp. viii, 234. \$3.00.)

THE American people received two great surprises during World War II. The first was Pearl Harbor, and the second was the Battle of the Bulge. In some respects, the second surprise seemed almost more inexplicable than the earlier one. Allied armies, after a successful landing on the French coast, had broken through the German containing ring in Normandy and by December, 1944, were battering at the outer defenses of Germany. The Germans everywhere were on the defensive, with no more than limited counteroffensives in their power. It seemed only a question of time before organized resistance would crumble.

Then, on the morning of December 16, 1944, German armies burst through the thin defenses in the Ardennes region, much as they had done in the spring of 1940, and American forces found themselves engaged in the greatest battle of the western war. Overnight, optimism turned into gloom, relieved only by the gallant fight at Bastogne. The battle was over in a little more than a month, owing to the bravery of individual units and the almost superhuman movement of troops and supplies, contrived by the staffs. Nevertheless, Allied complacency had received a nasty shock, and the question arose of how the Germans could have made in complete secrecy an attack of such dimensions.

Dark December provides satisfactory answers to questions about the battle.

Although the book lacks citations, this reviewer is convinced of its sincerity and authenticity. The author was chief of the Ardennes section of the Historical Division, European Theater of Operations. The book is based on the official volumes of the battle, personal notes and papers, and interviews with both German and American commanders. The author has no apparent axe to grind, and he himself points out the weaknesses of the book: insufficient attention to the supply and air phases of the battle.

Why were American forces surprised? The author gives a number of reasons. Allied optimism discounted German offensive capabilities. A "calculated risk" was taken by lightly holding the Ardennes region. It was believed that the Germans would not launch an offensive there, since the terrain was unfavorable, the road-nets were poor, strategic objectives were absent, and German forces were few in number. Allied intelligence was not sufficiently alert and failed to make a correct appreciation of the information received. Bad weather prevented aerial reconnaissance. The lessons of 1940 were forgotten.

What did the Germans hope to achieve? Hitler, who conceived the plan and forced its adoption over the objections of his field commanders, hoped to gain time by upsetting the western allies. By the time that they had recovered, he reasoned, his new jet planes and submarines would be available in quantities sufficient to limit Allied efforts. He could then concentrate against the Russians in the East. In Hitler's more grandiose moments he hoped that a successful surprise attack would force the western allies from the war. It was a desperate gamble, and, fortunately for us, Hitler lost.

University of Minnesota

RODNEY C. LOEHR

Ancient and Medieval History

ALEXANDER THE GREAT: THE MEETING OF EAST AND WEST IN WORLD GOVERNMENT AND BROTHERHOOD. By *Charles Alexander Robinson, Jr.*, Professor of Classics, Brown University. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1947. Pp. 252. \$3.75.)

THE author modestly observes, "I am under no illusion of having drawn a picture of Alexander that is final, but I do hope that I have succeeded in suggesting, in general terms based on exact scholarship, a characterization which, partly new and partly a synthesis of what is already known, approximates reality" (p. 16). It was no easy task to write yet another book about Alexander, but Mr. Robinson's qualifications are unusual; for this interpretation is based on fifteen years of intensive study. Intended for the general reader, the book is also profitable reading for specialists familiar with Mr. Robinson's articles and his monograph on the *Ephemerides*. Any account of the historical Alexander must be based on Arrian. The success or failure of a modern reconstruction depends largely on the investigator's appraisal of the other ancient sources. Mr. Robinson passes this test,

and his use of Plutarch is particularly judicious because he agrees with him in seeing that even anecdotes of doubtful authenticity can help to illuminate the complex character of the subject. Besides, as he says, it is instructive to observe what the ancients said and thought and were ready to believe about the Conqueror. Where a decided judgment is called for, Mr. Robinson is prepared to make it. He rightly agrees with Tarn and Wilcken that the burning of the palace at Persepolis by Alexander was a deliberate act of policy, and he rejects the ancient libel that Alexander was a habitual drunkard. But old habits die hard. As late as 1936 Erwin Mederer misguidedly upheld the vulgar tradition in his *Die Alexanderlegenden bei den ältesten Alexanderhistorikern*, pages 69 ff. and 135 ff.

The sketch of the Persian Empire in the fourth century (p. 71) is inadequate; Mr. Robinson should have described it a little more fully. Similarly, the remarks on the Hellenistic Age (pp. 236-40) are so brief as to be, in some respects, misleading. Thus, the economic rivalry between Seleucids and Ptolemies was surely far more important than the competition of either with Macedonia. And the Attalids are not even mentioned! The author does not always avoid the dangers of oversimplification. He asserts (p. 28) that Greece in the fourth century needed "a resumption of the colonization of the archaic period." But where could such colonies have been founded, and how, if colonization had been feasible, would a real improvement of Greek political and economic life have been attained? He calls Gaugamela (p. 122) "the greatest battle in antiquity, since it decided the course of all subsequent history." Shades of Creasy! It was not Gaugamela but the whole of Alexander's campaigns culminating in that battle which were decisive. And, if this be granted, then Xerxes' failure to conquer European Greece and even Carthage's ultimate defeat by Rome were perhaps no less momentous for the future history of the world. How did Alexander's decree recalling Greek exiles (p. 221) solve "one of the pressing problems of Greece"? Political life continued unstable and *stasis* did not disappear. The worst generalization in the book concerns divine monarchy (p. 162); for Mr. Robinson is prepared to lump together Hellenistic ruler-cult, Roman worship of the emperor, the medieval papacy, and the Habsburgs. As Jeffrey said of the *Excursion*, "This will never do."

In spite of such blemishes, this is an excellent and very readable *oeuvre de vulgarisation*.

Cornell University

M. L. W. LAISTNER

KLEINASIEN UND DER OSTBALKAN IN DER WIRTSCHAFTLICHEN ENTWICKLUNG DER RÖMISCHEN KAISERZEIT. Von Erik Gren. [Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1941: 9.] (Uppsala: A. B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln. 1941. Pp. xl, 172.)

DR. Gren began in 1927 his collection and study of the scattered and often almost inaccessible evidence for the economic development of Asia Minor and the

eastern Balkans in Roman times, and was well advanced with his task when the present reviewer's study of Asia Minor appeared in 1938; whereupon, revising his plan, he centered his attention upon the problems treated in this work. Despite his disappointment, with which the reviewer heartily sympathizes, the author has produced a valuable monograph which brings sound and fresh observations to subjects we both discuss and forms a welcome and much needed addition to the literature on the economic history of these regions in Roman times. It was published during the war and has therefore attracted less attention than it deserves.

The basic problem of the work is to discover an explanation for the gradual shift, during the first three centuries of the Roman Empire, in the road system of Asia Minor, and with it of the chief incidence of the trade and commerce and the prosperity of the cities, from emphasis upon old connections with the west coast and the sea until the center of gravity was situated in the region about the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. Sir William Ramsay noted this change long ago but assigned the cause to the founding of Constantinople; for Gren the process began much earlier through the economic stimulus of the large standing armies on the lower Danube and made the eventual choice of some city near the Straits as a capital an almost inevitable result.

The author first shows how the decline of the cities on the west coast of Asia Minor with the exception of the chief outlets for the interior, the heightened prosperity of the cities of the interior themselves, and particularly the assumption of leadership by towns in the north, such as Alexandria Troas, Cyzicus, Nicomedia, and Nicaea, kept pace with the economic development, largely under military auspices, of Thrace and Lower Moesia. Here (and throughout the work) the author makes good use of the evidence of the coinage, and contributes incidental observations of value on the continued prosperity of Samos, the significance of the port of Alexandria Troas and of the road station of Juliopolis. A review of the road system stresses the growing military emphasis on the roads that connected the armies of the Danube and those in the East until in the second and third centuries the network of roads north and west of the Straits was fully integrated with that in northern Asia Minor. This point has been recognized; Dr. Gren's contribution is his theory of the economic purpose which was also served; for a lengthy review of the actual products of both regions, natural and manufactured, faces him with two difficulties in explaining the trade the existence of which the actual evidence of the coinages indicates: first, specific evidence regarding specific goods is slight, though the wine, oil, and textiles of Asia Minor must have been in considerable demand; and second, the trade must have been one-sided, since the Balkan countries could send little to Asia in return, except metals. Yet trade there was, and the results we see must be due to the large standing camps of the soldiers, the growth of the towns near them and catering to their needs, the influx of capital in the form of pay drawn from the revenues of the empire but in the first instance from those of the nearest provinces, the organization of the service of supply which

must inevitably have drawn heavily upon so productive an area as Asia Minor, and the movements of troops between fronts (of these the author gives us a lengthy review) with the markets that these involved; until access to the production of Asia, a source of profit and development to both areas in the first and second centuries while the burden was not too great, became a grim necessity in the hard times of the third century. These economic factors, bound up with a military regime, made the region about the straits the economic focus of the East which the location of the mints of Diocletian and Constantine show it actually had become. Hence Diocletian chose Nicomedia and Constantine Byzantium to be an eastern capital and the vast growth of Constantine's city as a consumer and processer enabled it to continue the economic function once fulfilled by the armies on the lower Danube.

Dr. Gren's main contention is inherently probable and seems firmly based. The presence of the armies on the lower Danube could have had a no less stimulating effect upon the areas they occupied and the areas that supplied them than the armies farther west had upon Pannonia and northern Italy and Gaul. The evidence of the coinage is striking, especially the types with standards. And the great difference between the cost of transport by land and of that by sea is an added indication how far the movement of soldiers and supplies must have determined the development of the roads. Yet other factors should be kept in mind: the effect of a considerable period of protection from invasion on the natural development of the eastern Balkans; the fact that the connections of the great ports of northern Asia Minor were not especially Balkan but world-wide; and Ephesus was still an important port under Diocletian (see the new fragment of the *Edictum de pretiis* from Aphrodisias). Moreover, some details are pushed too far: it is not certain that the victory of Claudius Gothicus depended on recovery of naval supremacy in the Straits and access to Asia Minor (p. 131), desirable as these factors might be (Alföldi, *CAH* 12. 146-50, 189; Starr, *Roman Imperial Navy*, pp. 129 and 195); and surely political and imperial considerations also played their part in making the reduction of the Palmyrene Empire a recognized necessity (pp. 130-32). Great and undeniable as were the economic effects of the standing armies and the movements of troops, full validity must also be given to the strategic and imperial considerations in the choice of an eastern capital.

A full and extremely useful bibliography introduces the work. Perhaps Starr's *Roman Imperial Navy* should be added, but it was in press also in 1941.

Bryn Mawr College

T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON

THE HISTORICAL WORK OF AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS. By E. A. Thompson, King's College, London. (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1947. Pp. xii, 145. \$2.50.)

At last we have a modern and stimulating estimate in English of Ammianus, the late Roman historian so highly valued by Gibbon, and largely neglected since.

A devoted son of Antioch, he became a staff officer under Ursicinus in his Gallic and Oriental campaigns, was with Julian in Gaul and Persia, and apparently with Constantius at Bezabde; after retirement he joined in Rome the circle of Libanius and Symmachus, to write a sequel to Tacitus' history; of it we possess only the extensive account of the period of his active life (353-378 A.D.). Professor Thompson sketches his career and probes acutely into the problem of his sources and methods, utilizing an enviable acquaintance with contemporary writers, Greek and Latin; a valuable note emphasizes Ammianus' remarkable agreement with the altogether independent Armenian author, Faustus of Byzantium. He defends against numerous critics Ammianus' constant effort to attain "*veritas*" and concludes that

despite his cumbrous and obscure style there is not a dull page in his book, and where he deals with his own adventures he is perhaps more exciting than any other writer of antiquity . . . largely due to his extraordinary ability to depict character. No one of any importance appears in his pages without becoming a real and living person. . . . As Gimazane says . . . "*Jamais impartialité d'historien n'a été plus universellement reconnue que celle d'Ammien Marcellin.*" We have, indeed, found reason to modify our opinion of his impartiality, but even if all our conclusions be admitted, there still remains a comfortable margin of superiority over Tacitus and all other historians of imperial times. . . . It is certain that Ammianus' pictures of Constantius, Julian, Jovian, Valentinian, and Valens will stand for ever substantially unchanged.

Limited space forbids comment on the numerous enlightening discussions of religious, social, economic, and political phenomena in the decaying empire; the Roman diplomatic and military efforts to combat encroachment by the energetic Persians, inevitably bring up today's parallel in the same region. Incidentally, Professor Thompson demonstrates how Ammianus occasionally had to bow to the ferocious censorship under Valentinian and in Theodosius' later period, as when, like Claudian, he fails to clear up the mystery of the trial and execution of the elder Theodosius. The author deplores the fact that the only available text is Rolfe's in the Loeb Series, whose stock was mangled by bombing, and the absence of any commentary since Wagner's in 1808. Such a text and commentary would be a noble ambition for a young student of Roman history; this admirable little book would prove an excellent initial guide.

North Hatley, Quebec

CHARLES UPSON CLARK

PAGANISM TO CHRISTIANITY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE. By *Walter Woodburn Hyde*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Pp. vii, 296. \$4.00.)

THE title of this book holds great promise, since this is a field in which much intensive study and much productive research have been done for many years, especially since 1900. Unfortunately the treatment is disappointing; the book could have been written just as well in 1910, or possibly in 1900. The primary concern

of the author seems to be with religious beliefs today and the future prospects of religion. He employs the story of the development of the Roman religion, the mystery religions, Judaism, and Christianity as a basis for the promotion of certain ideas, more or less commendable but not at all revolutionary, as to the true function of religion in the life of the world of today and of tomorrow.

The materials used by the author are old and well known. Many of them are summaries of articles in popular encyclopedias published early in this century. Had the book been written in 1900, the author might have justifiably characterized his undertaking as "venturesome" and "fearless." "The spirit of critical historical scholarship of our time" has long since progressed far beyond the general ideas advanced in this book. The author appears to be so preoccupied in combating modern credulity and superstitions of Nazism, Bolshevism, Protestantism, Catholicism, and of ordinary churchgoers in general that he has failed to give an objective and well-balanced picture of his main theme, paganism to Christianity in the Roman Empire.

Readers who are interested in a general survey of this subject can find a much more satisfactory treatment in the relevant chapters of the twelfth volume of the *Cambridge Ancient History* and in the literature there cited.

Although much of the matter in this book is old and generally accepted, the author has not always been free from error in the compilation of this material. Thus he seems to accept the legends of early Rome at their face value, including those of King Numa (pp. 10 ff.), the early Roman calendar with a ten-months' year (p. 12), and of the various legendary details of the Etruscan kings of Rome (pp. 18 ff.). He states that the anti-Semitic restrictions in the Theodosian Code began with Constantius rather than with Constantine (p. 99); that "any Jew who associated in the rites of Christian women at work in the public textile mills should be put to death" (pp. 99-100); that Pliny's famous letter on the Christians was written about 105-106, instead of about 110-111 (p. 118). These are only a part of the manifest errors. Furthermore, the author does not seem to have been acquainted at first hand with the Theodosian Code, which should have served him as a major source, and his references to it are often confused and incorrect (p. 195, n. 3, and pp. 195 ff.). In addition to such errors, there are many serious omissions of significant material. To mention one example, no discussion is given of Manichaeism, the heresy that played such a significant role in the history of the early church and on which so much important research has been done in the last few years.

The author seems to be inspired by a pronounced animus against orthodox Christianity, especially against the claims of the Catholic Church, which he characterizes as "the citadel of conservatism and illiberality" (p. 238). He displays an equal antagonism to the miraculous element in religion (pp. 188-91); against the celebration of Christmas and Sunday as holy days (pp. 249-56, 257-64); against Sunday blue laws (pp. 262-63); against emotionalism (p. 245), intolerance

(p. 232), fundamentalism (pp. 132-33) and all claims of religion that may conflict with modern science (pp. 244-45). Thus he takes great pains to refute the literal story of a six-day creation, the Garden of Eden, and the talking serpent, the fall of man, Noah's flood, Jonah and the whale, hell-fire, and numerous other doctrines that are no longer the subject of serious scholarly discussion.

In his zeal to discredit the doctrine of the apostolic succession, the author makes a very regrettable blunder in the translation of a comparatively simple Latin sentence (CTh 16, 1, 2; CJ 1, 1, 1) in an edict of the emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, issued in 380. The pertinent part of the sentence reads: "*Cunctos populos, quos Clementiae Nostrae regit temperamentum, in tali volumus religione versari quam Divinum Petrum Apostolum tradidisse Romanis religio ad nunc ab ipso insinuata declarat.*" This may be translated: "It is Our will that all the peoples who are ruled by the moderation of Our Clemency shall practice that religion which the Divine Peter the Apostle delivered to the Romans, as the religion which he introduced makes clear even unto this day."

Of this passage the author says: "Nor should we omit the statement of Theodosius' decree of 380 that 'a pious belief from Peter to the present declares that the holy Peter was delivered to the Romans,' *i.e.*, to death in Rome" (p. 267). This mistranslation seems all the more remarkable, in view of the fact that in another connection (p. 211) the author quotes a translation of this sentence, as given by J. C. Ayer.

The book is obviously the result of extensive research and of much labor, by means of which the author has compiled a great amount of valuable and interesting material. The book would have served a more useful purpose if it had been written strictly as a well-balanced compilation of the material on paganism to Christianity in the Roman Empire. It is regrettable that the author has disregarded the purpose stated in the title of the book and has introduced quantities of confusing and extraneous material in support of various theses of his own.

Vanderbilt University

CLYDE PHARR

QU'EST-CE QUE LA FEODALITE? Par *F. L. Ganshof*, Professeur à l'Université de Gand. Deuxième édition. (Brussels: Office de Publicité. 1947. Pp. 206.)

THE origins and development of the political, economic, and social institutions of the Middle Ages have been the subject of a vast amount of scholarly labor. Few phases of history have received so much attention from so many men of high ability. Fewer still have given rise to so much enthusiastic controversy. The teacher, the student, and the interested lay reader need a summary of the results of all this work. There are now three such summaries—the volume under review, J. Calmette's *La société féodale*, and Carl Stephenson's *Mediaeval Feudalism*. These works do not cover exactly the same ground. To Calmette feudal society is medieval

society as a whole. His book is an excellent brief handbook of the origins and development of medieval institutions. Stephenson has interpreted feudalism as the institutions of the feudal aristocracy. He furnishes an exceedingly effective summary of our knowledge about the life of the feudal class. M. Ganshof has chosen a still narrower realm. His interest lies entirely in feudalism as a political system. This restriction in scope seriously reduces the value of the book for the nonspecialist. As feudal political institutions are presented in a vacuum, it can be read with profit only by those who already know a good deal about the Middle Ages.

M. Ganshof presents a clear, readable, and concise account of the origins and early development of feudal institutions and gives a fairly complete description of these institutions as they existed in what he calls the "classical" period—the tenth to thirteenth centuries. Perhaps the most valuable parts of the book are the illustrations of feudal practice that he has drawn from his own extensive research. These alone suffice to make his treatise required reading for specialists in the history of feudalism.

A number of criticisms can be made of M. Ganshof's work. Perhaps the most serious is that having restricted his field to such narrow limits he does not cultivate it more thoroughly. He does not actually go any deeper than does Mr. Stephenson in much less space. Thus he treats what he calls "*la féodalité classique*" as if it were static and neglects one of the most interesting aspects of his subject—the development of feudal institutions between the formative period and the period of decline. Then M. Ganshof is inclined to forget that by choosing to write a book without references he binds himself to exercise great care to distinguish between statements based on historical imagination and those based on evidence. This reviewer believes in a scholar's right, nay his duty, to use his imagination, and M. Ganshof in general utilizes this faculty with skill and good judgment, but in fairness to his readers he should make clear what he is doing. Finally M. Ganshof is not always quite careful enough. For instance the passage cited by him as an example of the tendency of Carolingian vassals to turn their benefices into allods does not refer to any such process. It simply forbids them to remove the man power belonging to their benefices to their allodial property.

In short M. Ganshof's book will prove stimulating and useful to those who have a deep interest in and a good knowledge of the political side of feudalism. Those lacking this interest will find it too limited in scope and the reader with inadequate background will neither appreciate the value of M. Ganshof's examples nor avoid the pitfalls laid by his method of exposition.

Johns Hopkins University

SIDNEY PAINTER

LE COSE FIORENTINE DALL'ANNO 1375. By *Francesco Guicciardini*. Ora per la prima volta pubblicate da *Roberto Ridolfi*. (Florence: Leo S. Olschki. 1945. Pp. 425.)

THIS publication of a hitherto unknown historical manuscript by *Francesco*

Guicciardini must be considered an extremely valuable addition to our knowledge of the Italian Renaissance, perhaps the most important single discovery of new source material on this period which has been made for many years.

Roberto Ridolfi, who found this manuscript among the papers of the Guicciardini Archives, and who has edited it with admirable care, characterizes it as a "second Florentine history" by Guicciardini—the first one being the *Storie Fiorentine* (published by Canestrini in the last century), which Guicciardini wrote as a young man and in which he described the Florentine development from the fall of the Medici to the year 1510. Yet it may be doubted whether the manuscript which Ridolfi has published can really be called a "new" Florentine history.

What Guicciardini evidently intended to do was to describe the Florentine development from the year 1375 on, when "the city had reached full independence and self-government" (p. 17), to the year 1494, that is to say to the fall of the Medici; but Guicciardini carried out only a very small portion of this plan. The first book of *Le Cose Fiorentine* is brief and introductory: it discusses the foundation of Florence, the building and growth of the city, its political institutions and parties. Although several annotations made by Guicciardini indicate that he intended to make some further changes and a few additions, chiefly on the economic development of Florence, the opening book may be considered to be in substantially its final form. Only with the second book, does Guicciardini really take up his theme. This book opens with a survey of the political situation in Italy in the year 1375 and then discusses the war of the Otto Santi, the revolt of the Ciompi, and the clash with Gian Galeazzo Visconti. It is a very detailed, sometimes even dramatic, description of these events; but there are many footnotes by Guicciardini which show that he considered his researches for this part of his work not yet completed. Moreover, several sections of this book are nothing but very short factual statements which are not yet woven into a continuous story. The third book, which brings the development up to the time of the war against Lucca, is still more sketchy: long footnotes indicate plans for far-reaching changes and additions, and the latter part consists of short factual notes, apparently to serve later as the outline for a historical report. The fourth and final book consists solely of such short notes on events up to the year 1440; only a few speeches, which Guicciardini wanted to put into the mouths of the main actors, are fully worked out.

Thus Guicciardini carried out only about half of what he had planned to do, and even this half is in a preliminary state. What Ridolfi has published are rather fragments and notes for a second Florentine history by Guicciardini than the finished manuscript of a historical work.

It is just the preliminary and fragmentary state of this manuscript, however, which gives it its significance; for it is from this very form that we gain a unique insight into Guicciardini's working methods and conception of history. For instance, this manuscript throws new light on two much discussed questions: Guicciardini's views on the evaluation of historical sources and his principles in

the composing of speeches. It emerges that Guicciardini was most anxious to make himself acquainted with all available sources. For every single year he jotted down what events were mentioned by the various historians who had dealt with the period; he carefully noted differences or contradictions among these authorities and selected those on whom to rely on the basis of criteria such as nearness to the event. It is perhaps still more interesting that he definitely preferred documentary sources to histories. Once he had reached a point in his account after which sources such as the *Commissioni* of Rinaldo degli Albizzi and letters of his own ancestors were available to him, he based his story on this material and used works of historians chiefly to fill out gaps. With regard to the speeches, it appears that Guicciardini took carefully into account what previous historians had reported on the arguments used in discussions preceding important decisions. For instance, in Guicciardini's report of the debate as to whether or not Florence should undertake the war against Lucca, Rinaldo degli Albizzi and Niccolò da Uzzano, the two main opponents, used the same arguments which Poggio Bracciolini and Buoninsegni, in their histories, had put into their mouths. But there is an important difference in the way in which these arguments were worked into rounded speeches. Poggio elaborated the arguments by linking them with general philosophical reflections, Guicciardini strengthened them by adding factual details on the political situation under discussion. To this extent Guicciardini was much more concrete and realistic.

Insight into Guicciardini's working methods is, however, only one aspect which gives significance to this publication. The most important fact is that it throws light on Guicciardini's intellectual development in general and especially on the evolution of Guicciardini the historian. Ridolfi shows that Guicciardini worked on this manuscript between the years 1527 and 1530; in other words, it stands between Guicciardini's first attempt in historiography, the youthful *Storie Fiorentine* (written around 1511), and the masterpiece of his mature years, the *Storia d'Italia* (1540). The interest in documentary sources as the basis of his story and the insertion of carefully composed speeches are features which are lacking in the *Storie Fiorentine*; they show Guicciardini developing into the author of the *Storia d'Italia*. There are other indications of his evolution. In the *Cose Fiorentine*, Guicciardini seems to put considerable emphasis on the clarification of the motives of the main actors and on the establishment of causal connections between the events. He is much more aware of the dependence of the history of Florence on the developments in Italy and carefully places the Florentine events within this broader Italian framework. It seems evident that the writing of history, which, in the *Storie Fiorentine*, had been for him chiefly the means for informing posterity about interesting events in which he had taken part or about which he had heard, had now become to him a conscious task, a science with its own methods and rules.

It is this aspect which constitutes the main interest of this publication and because of which it will have to be carefully studied by students of the Renaissance.

It should perhaps be added that such study will throw light not only on the development of the historian Guicciardini and of Renaissance historiography, but on the intellectual life of the whole period. Guicciardini's career begins in the full brilliance of the Renaissance and humanism, but it ends in the twilight of emerging baroque and Counter Reformation. His works reflect this important development from the optimistic belief in man's power to the pessimistic acceptance of man's dependence on fate, the attitude which Toffanin has named the "*Tacitismo*" of the Renaissance. The *Cose Fiorentine* will be an important source for the historian studying this development.

Bryn Mawr College

FELIX GILBERT

DIE ZUSAMMENARBEIT DER RENAISSANCEPÄPSTE MIT DEN TÜRKEN. Von *Hans Pfeffermann*. Mit Geleitwort von Prof. Fritz Blanke, Zürich. (Winterthur, Switzerland: Mondial Verlag. 1946. Pp. xi, 256.)

THE anomaly of papal policy during the Renaissance, whereby crusades against the Turks were sponsored and alliances with the Turks were cultivated, is the subject investigated by this book. The anomaly is only the most striking exemplification of the simple fact that the papacy was a sovereign state at a time when Turkey had become a European power. Not only the papacy but all the European states included the Turks in the game of the balance of power. This did not quite mean that the concept of Christendom had been abandoned (see F. L. Baumer, "England, the Turk, and the Common Corps of Christendom," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, L [October, 1944], 26-48). Those against whom the alliances with the Turk were directed of course professed horror at such dealings with the Infidels, and those who made advances or accepted overtures from the Porte were always at pains to excuse themselves on the ground that concessions to the unbelievers would ultimately redound to the advancement of the faith and the protection of the faithful. Yet despite the apologies the plain fact could not be escaped that if an Islamic power were included in the European concert of nations the common bond was no longer Christianity.

The first pope to make an advance to the sultan was Pius II, who clothed the approach in the form of a missionary appeal. The sultan was given to understand that all his conquests of Christian lands might be sanctioned if he would consent to so little a thing as a few drops of water in baptism. Then he might enter upon the role of Charlemagne as the protector of the pope and the arbiter of Christendom.

Alexander VI went to the length of a positive alliance. The occasion was accidental. Dschem, the brother and rival of the sultan, sought an asylum with the pope, to whom the sultan then paid a handsome subsidy to hold his brother in custody. It was a tidy sum exceeding the annual revenue of Genoa. But had there been no Dschem the author is confident that Alexander VI would have

sought military assistance from the Porte in order to oust the French from Italy. The disclosure of the alliance through the intercepting by the French of the sultan's letters to the pope was a severe shock to the Christians of the West.

Julius II was able to preserve a balance of power in Italy without calling in the Turks. Leo X sought to secure Italy against Turkish pirates by reverting to the crusading plan, but when he was unable to enlist both the French and the Habsburgs under papal banners veered to the policy of peace with the Turks to be mediated by the pope. Clement VII, after the sack of Rome, sought help from the Porte in order to repulse the emperor. Paul III, irked by dependence jointly on the French and the Turks, tried to revive the crusade, but soon discovered that war on the Protestants and the opening of the Council of Trent were contingent upon peace with the Turks.

Paul IV finally abandoned Turkish alliances. The reason was not primarily that the French power was broken, nor that Philip II was abetting the church and carving for his country a principality in the New World rather than in Europe. The reason was simply that Turkish intervention had not been effective. The Turk played his own game of fostering division and aiding the weaker among the European powers. And if the Turk did not take Italy the reason was that so bold an advance would invite retaliation from the empire and very probably expulsion from the Mediterranean. The author stresses these factors without demonstrating why they should first have become effective in the mind of Paul IV. The spirit of the Catholic Reformation is recognized as a contributory cause. It would seem to me to have been decisive because this was the only factor that was new.

The book, as the title indicates, deals primarily with papal policy. But the author makes plain that the papacy as a temporal power acted no differently from any other. After Pavia when Francis I was captured by the emperor, the most Christian king of France addressed an appeal for help to the sultan. The emperor was properly horrified by the craven demeanor of his Christian brother, but the emperor did not disdain to deal with the Turk to gain a free hand for the Schmalkald war. All of this meant that politics was emancipated from religion. Francis I was willing to align himself against the emperor with the pope, the Protestants, and the Turks, who thereby became the allies of each other.

Beneath all these alliances lay a social fact of prime significance, that many among the native populations in Christian lands were well disposed to a Turkish invasion. In the sixteenth century no European land was so well governed as Turkey. Within the confines of the Islamic empire peace prevailed and order reigned. Religious convictions were respected. The peasants suffered no interference in their ways and little in their funds. In consequence not only in Hungary and the Balkans but even in Italy important sections of the population looked upon the Turks as deliverers.

A chapter is devoted to the Reformation and the Turks. Luther, like many a medieval theologian, regarded them as the scourge of God to be resisted none the

less. He objected strenuously to a crusade, a holy war under the auspices of the church. In this respect he was a disciple of Erasmus, a point which might have been brought out. But Luther did not discourage war against the Turk under secular auspices. The net result of the Reformation, concludes the author, was to make war against the Turk an aspect of national defense rather than an international enterprise under church leadership.

The book is based only on Western sources. They are quite sufficient to provide a detailed and illuminating picture.

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ROLAND H. BAINTON

Modern European History

REPORT ON THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE LATE REGINALD RAWDON HASTINGS, ESQ. OF THE MANOR HOUSE, ASHBY DE LA ZOUCH. Volumes I-IV. Edited by *Francis Bickley*. [Historical Manuscripts Commission, 78.] (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1928-1947. Pp. xviii, 545; xix, 457; xvi, 435; liii, 463. 10s., 10s. 6d., 8s., 12s. 6d.)

THE first page of the introduction to Volume I lists eighteen groups of documents formerly in the possession of Reginald Rawdon Hastings and now in the Huntington Library, and each of the other three volumes of the *Report* enumerates in its table of contents the groups of papers it calendars, although the fourth volume adds a nineteenth category relating to the Graham family. The groups were formed in order to bring together material that could be classified according to the type of document—deeds, manorial accounts, and inventories—or that pertained to one subject—Ireland, House of Lords, and gentlemen pensioners—or that concentrated the correspondence of families or individuals—Hastings and Rawdon or Warren Hastings. Probably such an arrangement is the most convenient, although it sacrifices chronological order except within the group and involves some rather arbitrary choices of placement for certain letters. Volume I contains what is usually to be found in family archives—accounts and inventories, documents about conveyance or lease of land, court rolls, rentals, assessments, etc. Perhaps half relate to Leicestershire, where the Hastings family settled in the fifteenth century. A detailed study of these and later documents would yield a rich harvest and would reveal the formation, maintenance, and economy of a large estate and household during five centuries. Failing a comprehensive history, much valuable evidence is available for a number of monographs and articles—one of the former on Ashby de la Zouch and one of the latter on the furnishings of a nobleman's house are examples.

The bulk of Volume II consists of Hastings correspondence from 1528 to 1699. There is little before 1560 except a very interesting series of letters from Cardinal Pole, written in Mary's reign to his niece Catherine, wife of the second earl of

Huntington, and exhibiting him as a kindly and solicitous great-uncle. The third earl was appointed custodian of Mary, Queen of Scots, in 1569, and ordered to prevent her seeing, or being seen by, any people. President of the Council of the North, he corresponded with a number of high officials including Walsingham. On the whole the documents from 1560 to 1640 supply particulars about events the outlines of which are already known, and furnish matter for notes rather than more ambitious projects. The Civil War in the Midlands is illustrated by many letters addressed to Henry Hastings whose eminent services to the Royalist cause earned him a peerage (Lord Loughborough) in 1643. For the reign of Charles II miscellaneous letters include some of Sir William Dugdale, and valuable details of the Revolution of 1688 are supplied by the seventh earl, a zealous Jacobite, who spent some months in the Tower in 1692 in consequence. Interesting particulars appear of such diverse subjects as schools, the scarcity of corn and subsequent riots, and debates in the House of Lords on the Triennial Act and other measures in 1693. A series of newsletters from 1691 to 1693 is practically identical with Narcissus Luttrell's *Brief Historical Relation* except that details likely to interest a Jacobite are added.

After a gap from 1699 to 1724 the family correspondence continues in Volume III. Three letters from Bolingbroke to the tenth earl of Huntington, then a schoolboy, give an old man's ideas on education, including the verdict that Plato "poisoned the very roots of knowledge" (p. 65). The correspondence of the tenth earl consists mainly of letters addressed to him—like other members of the family he kept no copies of his own epistles—but in the bulk they give a lively picture of Continental travel. On his death without legitimate heirs, his sister Elizabeth married John Rawdon, first earl of Moira, who became head of the family. Their son, second earl of Moira, created the marquess of Hastings in 1816, fought in the Revolutionary War and wrote some extremely interesting letters from America. Later he became the military prophet of the Whigs: his strictures on Wellington's Peninsular campaign are curious instances of blindness. There are three good letters from Sir Thomas Picton, including one on the battle of Vittoria, criticizing Wellington's account of the battle as printed in the *London Gazette*. A lady describes Napoleon on the Bellerophon with great vivacity. The volume concludes with a long series of letters from Warren Hastings from 1802 to 1817 when he was living "snug and comfortable" in the country, enjoying a ripe old age as a farmer but keenly interested in public affairs.

About half of Volume IV relates to Ireland. Certain papers of Sir John Davies remain in this collection after the withdrawal of many others for the benefit of Thomas Carte—these are now in the Bodleian Library. The Bramhall correspondence has a series of unpublished letters from Archbishop Laud to the Irish bishop, obviously a willing agent in the enforcement of "thorough" in matters ecclesiastical. These and some miscellaneous documents, including some about George Monck, make a considerable addition to the sources for Irish history from

1603 to about 1663. In view of the extreme paucity of notes of debates and proceedings in the House of Lords, those here recorded for some of the years 1610 to 1621 and 1670 to 1695 have a rarity value.

A comparison of this *Report* and the "Summary Report on the Hastings Manuscripts" printed in the *Huntington Library Bulletin*, April, 1934, suggests that the editor of the former was more concerned with political than with social history and omitted many items which may be insignificant individually but are valuable in the mass because they illustrate the private lives of all sorts and conditions of men and are not confined to public characters or events. One advantage at least the "Summary Report" has: it indicates the number of letters written by each correspondent named, whereas no indication is given in the *Report* what proportion of a man's correspondence is printed. Excerpts from four letters only from Dr. George Cheyne are printed, though there are thirty-one in the collection, and letters of agents are completely ignored. On the whole, the *Report* does not give a very clear account of the 50,000 documents in the Hastings archives, but the editor may not be at fault at least so far as omissions are concerned.

Huntington Library

GODFREY DAVIES

WITCHCRAFT IN ENGLAND. By *Christina Hole*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1947. Pp. 168. \$3.00.)

PREFATORIAL comment claims this volume to be "a brief survey to give a general impression of witchcraft in England." Guarding against the reiteration probable with these limitations, the author astutely side-steps definition and kaleidoscopically intermingles magic, astrology, alchemy, folklore, fairy tales, foretokenings, necromancy, healings, charms, and "second-sight." One striking example of telepathy is included without recognition as such; in fact, the psychic influence is an anomalous want in an endeavor "to show how varied were the roots" of the witchcraft belief.

Extracts "from legal records, in books written by contemporaries, or in local tradition" are trusted to produce the "impression" aimed at. No original documentary research is in evidence, the few court citations being identifiable as translations of indictments and depositions derived from a printed collection. For the remainder of the material the only clue to the sources is a short bibliography, but the omission of certain well-known scholarly studies points to little effort to familiarize more than the fanciful side of the subject. The "impression" thus casually obtained is buttressed by fifty-five illustrations, large and small, no one of which exemplifies a historical point or anything but the skill and lively imagination of the artist (Mervyn Peake). No fewer than eight portraits labeled with witches' names convey a misleading effect of uniform ugliness and decrepitude.

Notwithstanding the exigencies of space, irrelevant padding is manifest, such as the priapic exploit of the Reverend John of Inverkeithing, Fife, in 1282, actually

a dance to the honor of Father Liber, and having no more connection with either witchcraft or England than the trial in 1670 of Major Weir, also introduced.

No attempt to substantiate the matter selected is apparent. Hopkins' falsities are preferred to official records, and Miss Margaret Murray's inaccurate counts to support the coven, and her discredited fertility cult, are given a further lease, but more reasonably, the sabbat is only half accepted. Slapdash and resulting factual error describe the account of the important St. Osyth arraignments in 1582. We are told that "thirteen were convicted and it is not certain whether all were hanged." Yet Miss Hole had in her hands a book reproducing the original gaol records and proving but six found guilty of whom only two went to the gallows.

Any "impression" gained from the text and sketches must inevitably be colored by the Scottish, Irish, and Continental interpolations, so the book may possibly answer as a first reader for an inquirer whose interests are not confined to the superstitions of England. The index is serviceable.

Paignton, Devon, England

C. L'ESTRANGE EWEN

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC OPINION IN MANCHESTER, 1780-1820. By *Leon Souttierre Marshall*, Associate Professor of History, Kent State University. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press. 1946. Pp. 274. \$2.50.)

MANCHESTER (England) was described by Engels in 1844 as "the classic type of a modern manufacturing town." By that time Cobden and the other leaders of the "Manchester School" were converting the nation to those principles of economic liberalism which were to dominate the political policy of Britain for more than one generation. A particular interest therefore attaches to Professor Marshall's attempt to discover how the public opinion of Manchester was developed and consolidated during the previous half-century. Most of Professor Marshall's new material has been drawn from the Manchester newspapers of the period; but he has also studied many contemporary pamphlets, and has made proper use of the unpublished Home Office papers and of other manuscript sources.

As was to be expected, he has found the analysis of public opinion no simple task, and he has not been able to develop his thesis in clear outline. It is not easy to summarize his conclusions adequately in few words; but their general trend can be indicated. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century the dominant voice in the public opinion of Manchester was that of the Anglican and Tory oligarchy which controlled all the main administrative institutions and much of the local trade. The rapid increase of the industrial working classes was aggravating many of the special difficulties of town life; the poorer townspeople were often riotous, and were demanding both economic and political reforms. As yet, however, the working-class reformers had no co-ordinated program, and their leaders were uninspiring. The local middle-class reformers of this period had no genuine sympathy with the working classes, and in any case were not strong enough to chal-

lenge the ruling clique. The outbreak of war against Revolutionary France weakened the middle-class reformers still further, and for a time allowed the High Church Tories, with their slogan of "Church and King," to lead the mob against the local bourgeois "Jacobins."

This unnatural alliance between the Right and the Left did not last long. By the end of the wars, and in the immediate postwar years, the local authorities were repressing the mob as savagely as in the "good old days"; but a new and more forceful generation of middle-class reformers was now beginning to influence the public opinion (and ultimately the policy) of the rapidly growing town. Most of these new "Liberal Whigs" were young and successful businessmen, merchants and manufacturers; most of them were dissenters, and not many of them were natives of Manchester. They resented their exclusion from the local clique, and had some sympathy with the political and social (as distinct from the economic) aspirations of the working classes. Moreover, they had money, energy, business-like habits, and a new understanding of the potentialities of large-scale propaganda. Their newly founded paper, the *Manchester Guardian*, was soon molding the public opinion not only of the town but of the nation. The newly established Manchester Chamber of Commerce exerted a much stronger pressure upon national economic policy than the embryonic commercial committees and societies of the eighteenth century had done.

Under this new leadership, the public opinion of Manchester came to be focused closely upon a comprehensive program of political and economic liberalism—radical parliamentary reform, complete freedom of trade, and (above all) the repeal of the Corn Laws. It is true, as Professor Marshall notes, that the pattern of liberalism was blurred in its application to some other strands of the social fabric, notably factory reform, trades unionism, and poor relief. It is also true that the unanimity of Manchester opinion was never so complete as some historians have imagined. Nevertheless, the "Manchester School" which was gathering strength in 1820 remained a powerful force in national policy for nearly a century, and its influence is even now not quite dead.

Professor Marshall's book is both learned and important; it must also be described, sorrowfully, as very imperfect. Scores of misprints and casual errors of detail disfigure its pages; the index is meager, and the general format of the book is poor even by postwar standards. A more serious defect arises from the curious inconsistency of Professor Marshall's style; he alternates between the "penny-plain" of solid historical research and the "twopence-coloured" of social psychology or social anthropology. In this latter mood he is liable to use such phrases as "an eclectic absorption of the cultural heritage," and to visualize his problem as that of "determining the relations between an expanding and nascent society and an extending and kinetic public opinion which was empowering earlier ideas with the force of tradition and new responses with the instruments of social integration." It is to be hoped that in his future works he will stick consistently to the

"penny-plain" style; it conveys his meaning more clearly, and is much pleasanter to read.

University of Manchester

ARTHUR REDFORD

LA FORMATION DE LA SOCIÉTÉ FRANÇAISE MODERNE. Tome II, LA RÉVOLUTION DES IDÉES ET DES MOEURS ET LE DÉCLIN DE L'ANCIEN RÉGIME (1715-1788). Par *Philippe Sagnac*, Professeur honoraire à la Sorbonne. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1946. Pp. viii, 355. 300 fr.)

IN this second volume of a two-volume study on modern French society, Professor Sagnac treats soberly of an exciting and dramatic story. Exciting, because it is the story of the clash of ideas, of the decline in importance and strength of one broad social group, the *privilegiés*, and the attendant rise of the well-to-do middle classes. And dramatic, because the pace of change was uneven, its direction variable and often concealed, and the goals opposing. The transformation was almost imperceptible until mid-century; it took on speed when its leaders became self-conscious protagonists of the new against the old; while, in the twenty years before the Revolution, not continued expansion but the contraction of economic activity, together with the disappearance of prosperity for the classes and the increase of suffering for the masses, set the stage for 1789.

The first period, roughly from 1715 to 1750, into which Sagnac divides the French century, might be regarded as a sort of dress rehearsal for the complex, century-long strife. It was a preliminary clash between the early spokesmen of the newer trading and producing techniques who aspired to greater social flexibility and the active representatives of a contrary desideratum, the men who wished to stratify society along existing lines. For the moment, we are told, the clash resulted in a stalemate, because the state was still strong enough to reconcile the contradictory aspirations within the tradition of monarchical rule. Then, for another two decades, under the sustained impact of economic prosperity, the formulators of the social outlook which we know as distinctively eighteenth century disseminated their doctrine and effected a virtual intellectual revolution. During these years the monarchy was no longer powerful enough nor willing at all moments to hold back the new forces or demands, and it shifted from pursuing a policy of vigorous repression to acquiescing with resignation or complaisance. Meantime, the *philosophes* also specifically challenged the crown, disputing the claims of the absolute monarchy to leadership. Finally, in the last years, 1771-1788, years of fluctuating harvests, of viticultural and agricultural crises, of commercial contraction and manufacturing decline, the old privileged groups discredited themselves by proving unworthy of their responsibilities to what people were calling "the nation," while the state muffed its last chance.

Manifestly Professor Sagnac recounts a story that is in great part both old and

familiar—and sad. Yet much of it is also new, except of course to specialists; and he is not writing for them. To measure its contribution one need not hold it against an outmoded but still frequently prescribed staple like Lowell's *Eve of the French Revolution*, for in its light Tocqueville and Taine, and Jaurès too, lose much of their magistral authority. Sagnac's account reveals the complexity of the evolution and the many forces open and covert at work, their antiquity, their diversified origins, and their inner contradictions as well as their main direction. Veteran scholar, he handles the sources with ease and competence; and more noteworthy still, he incorporates with great critical skill the data and conclusions of the leading revisionist researchers of the last few decades, scholars such as Labrousse, Mornet, Sée, Lefebvre, to mention only a few. Thus his work is without question the most valuable one-volume survey of eighteenth century France in any language, and its appearance is most welcome and needed.

It is not, of course, without shortcomings. There are defects of presentation. Too often the author repeats himself, especially in making transitions from one period to another. For a work clearly designed for nonspecialized readers he crowds and retards the story with too many details, *e.g.*, in blurring what should be his main point in the first period, 1715–1750: the unsuccessful conservative and corporative reaction against the absolute monarchy. There is cause also for more serious disappointment. Sagnac fails to make the memorable synthesis that could reasonably be expected from a leading historian of ideas and institutions. His work is assuredly not the “spectral dance of bloodless categories,” but it is depersonalized analysis, a species of sociological observations, each section of which has great merit in itself but all of which are pulled together largely by linguistic stitches. No matter how keenly he himself appreciates the interdependence and interaction of the forces that he so clearly bares, he does not succeed in putting them together to form a pattern of culture.

New York University

LEO GERSHOY

LA VIE OUVRIERE EN FRANCE SOUS LE SECOND EMPIRE. By *Georges Duveau*. Preface by Edouard Dolléans. (Paris: Gallimard, 1946. Pp. xix, 605.)

A CONTRIBUTION to the economic history of nineteenth century France is doubly welcome, first because the French themselves, with their undue reluctance to study what they consider “*histoire contemporaine*,” have rather neglected the period after 1815, and secondly because economic and social problems have been the orphans of this historically underprivileged era. Georges Duveau's study of the working classes under the Second Empire is important not only on this account but also because it represents in itself a work of unusually careful and thorough scholarship.

The task undertaken by the author is a big one, perhaps too big for the method employed. After introducing the subject with an extended analysis of the attitude

of labor toward the Republic of 1848 and Napoleon's *coup d'état*, Duveau proceeds to a somewhat ambitious description of the industrial revolution in France from 1852 to 1870. Only then does he consider the groundwork laid for the detailed study of the working classes that forms the core of the work.

This arrangement has more disadvantages than merits. To begin with, the interrelationship of these different currents of the stream of development does not save the book from a rather striking lack of cohesion and unity. Duveau's apologia notwithstanding, any one of the three topical subdivisions might be published by itself unaltered without any loss of comprehension or logic. Secondly, even though the introductory material does provide helpful background, the minute, monographic information furnished by the author is often superfluous and even distracting. Finally, the writer's pointillist technique, somewhat similar to that of the late medievalist Coulton, is far more suited to the detailed analysis of a complex subject than to intended summary introductions. Instead of providing the reader with a framework in which to place the main thematic matter, the many dots of fact merely create an additional problem.

The body of the work deals with labor in its internal aspect. The author is not concerned with the labor movement, socialist agitation, etc., but with the worker himself, his wages and standard of living, home and amusements, mentality and morality. It is a subject which is especially difficult, owing to the many variables which must be kept in mind: the regional diversity, the contrast of factory and workshop, the difference between city and country. In this regard Duveau has proved scrupulously careful and thorough, examining every facet of the subject and exercising a justified reluctance to generalize. Furthermore, *La vie ouvrière* bears on every page the imprint of the author's critical skepticism. Bourgeois testimony is balanced against that of the working classes; both are examined in the light of reports of national commissions and local officials.

Indeed, therein lies the greatest merit of the work: the documentation is unusually varied and complete. Duveau leans very lightly on secondary materials. Not only has he consulted national and local archives—the latter is a welcome rarity—but he has utilized primary works of major importance that had previously been overlooked, particularly Turgan's monumental ten-volume *Grandes usines*.

Aside from the lack of cohesion mentioned above, the book is marred only by a marked weakness in the field of economic theory. It is this shortcoming that causes Duveau to echo the traditional French attitude that in economic crises the thing to do is to contract credit (p. 115), to accept somewhat uncritically the Levasseur-Simiand thesis that the influx of gold from America and Africa was the prime mover in the great economic expansion of the empire (p. 110), to assume that a mass market is more subject than a luxury market to cyclical fluctuations (p. 135), to declare that mechanization favors the employment of men over that of women (p. 211), to underestimate financial and commercial crises as a factor

in unemployment, and so on. This failing is also reflected in the author's neglect to emphasize qualitative considerations in his treatment of the changes in standard of living under the empire.

It is unfortunate that the critical paragraphs of book reviews always seem to outweigh the words of approbation. Any such impression regarding *La vie ouvrière* would be most unjust. Here is a book which is from cover to cover, by reason of its derivation from untapped sources and the exemplary care and detachment of the author, a major contribution to its field. It is a study which reflects M. Duveau's impressive familiarity with the subject and makes one all the more impatient for his promised work on the thought and ideology of French labor during this period.

Harvard University

DAVID S. LANDES

FRANKREICH, VON GAMBETTA ZU CLEMENCEAU. By *Werner Richter*. (Erlenbach-Zurich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag. 1946. Pp. 496.)

"'DEGENERATE France' is one of the oldest words in Europe's vocabulary" but any nation that "degenerates for three-fourths of a thousand years can have no bad constitution" (p. 74). With this epigram Dr. Richter affirms his faith in the vitality of France. He sees her history as a rhythmical story of disasters and recoveries. This book, starting with the fiasco of 1870-71 and ending with France as one of the victors in the great war of 1914-18, seems a striking affirmation of Richter's thesis. Indeed, it would be, if the forces and tendencies in French society (1871-1919) that Richter chooses to ignore really were without importance. Richter has become fascinated with the idea that the great men who stalk across the scene of world history are the driving forces in the action, and in this book he presents the "heroic" figures whose labors righted what Richter considers Bismarck's greatest blunder, namely, the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. He has ignored the basic fact that French economy, impoverished by lack of coal and unfitted for modern economic society by its inner organization, failed in these very years to provide a sound foundation upon which the French could safely continue the development of their civilization into the twentieth century.

The literary skill with which this book is put together and the obvious wealth of information at the disposal of the writer almost blind the reader to the fact that the author's interpretation of history is open to question. The narrative is handled masterfully with an abundance of piquant and interesting detail. This material, moreover, is never introduced as obscure allusions, intelligible to none but the specialist—Richter is much too skillful a writer to fall into that unfortunate manner. His presentation of historical characters, even very minor ones, is always done in a direct, forceful, and arresting way. There are few historians who could not learn much from a careful study of his technique. Furthermore, his interest in individuals has made this book valuable as a tableau of many of the more im-

portant figures of the first fifty years of the Third Republic. The reviewer knows of no better short account of Gambetta or of Clemenceau in any language, and the pen portraits of Poincaré, Thiers, Ferry, Delcassé, and many other political figures are vivid and sometimes brilliant.

The central theme of the story, insofar as a central theme can be discovered, is tied to the axis of Franco-German relations. Students of European diplomacy will be amused and perhaps irritated at some of his observations, but they will have to admit that his attempts to go beyond the diplomatic dispatches for understanding is, at times, fruitful. His discussions of the forces behind diplomacy, in the reviewer's opinion, would have been more significant were he not so curiously blind to the importance of industrialism in the society of Europe after 1880.

The introduction of literary and artistic figures into the political narrative is often interesting, but the reviewer would take issue with his emphasis upon Péguy. Péguy's most important influence did not come until a whole decade after his death; during his lifetime only a small group of intellectuals was aware of his ideas.

Despite the criticisms that can be leveled against this book, it is worth the time it takes to read it.

University of Minnesota

JOHN B. WOLF

THE GERMAN PEOPLE: THEIR HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION FROM THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE TO THE THIRD REICH. By *Veit Valentin*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1946. Pp. xx, 730, xxxi. \$6.00.)

DR. Valentin was trained in history at the universities of Berlin and Munich, also at Heidelberg where he earned his doctorate. From 1910 he taught at Freiburg im Breisgau, and was promoted to professor extraordinary. After the abdication of William II, Dr. Valentin was appointed a professor of history in the School of Economics at Berlin and the following year was also made an *Archivrat* at the Imperial Archives in Potsdam, where he became a director of research. Most of his sixteen monographs in German deal with German foreign policy from 1848 to 1918. Since Dr. Valentin "denounced German rearmament as a provocation to war and anti-Semitism as an international scourge" it is not surprising that when the Nazis came to power they promptly discharged him as a "politically unreliable civil servant." It did not help him to protest that he was not a Social Democrat, not a Communist, and was of purely "Aryan" descent. He was spied upon, blacklisted, and his books were withdrawn from the market (p. 719). He left Germany in July, 1933, finding refuge in England. At the University of London he delivered lectures which became the basis of the present book. Rising war clouds drove him to the United States in 1939. Here he lectured at various institutions and was a Rockefeller research associate at the Library of Congress. In the summer of 1945 he revisited Germany "in an official capacity for the American government." He

died in the Georgetown Hospital on the twelfth of January, 1947, after five days of illness.

Dr. Valentin's chief publication in English is the present work. It is a careful and, at times, a brilliant summary of the German past by one who is thoroughly competent as a historian and archivist. The latter part of his narrative is more vivid than the first chapters; but the whole is well proportioned, clear, and stimulating. The author follows the order of time, except in chapter vi, where he describes the political and social stratification of the empire at the crest of the Middle Ages. Thereafter he does not segregate the economic and the cultural; they enliven every chapter. The last two chapters, on "National Socialism" and "The German Collapse," deal with events most of which happened after Dr. Valentin had left Germany; therefore he treats them in a somewhat abstract and philosophical fashion, giving not so much a narrative as a summary of the programs and performances of Hitler and his accomplices.

In Olga Marx the author, who wrote in German, found an excellent translator. One may, however, risk a few conjectural emendations: that the word "tameless" (p. 32) should be "untamed"; that "speechless" (p. 261) should be "inarticulate." "Common box" (p. 157) means a fund we call a "common chest." "Life of the spirit" (p. 261) mistranslates *Geistesleben* which signifies "intellectual life." The term "common law" (p. 274) should be "general legislation."

The maps are inadequate. Seven out of eight present chiefly the external boundaries of the Reich at different stages of expansion or contraction. They illustrate the inevitable theme that Germany is "encircled" by foreign powers. The general reference map shows no political boundary except the periphery of the evanescent Weimar Republic. Omitted are the outlines of the tribal duchies, of the territories ruled till 1803 by prelates, of the lands struggled for by rival German dynasties. Even in his bibliography Valentin fails to mention indispensable geographical helps such as F. W. Putzger's *Historischer Handatlas* (29th edition, 1905), or its more useful American adaptation, W. R. Shepherd's *Historical Atlas* (6th edition, 1927), printed in Germany but published in New York by Holt and now hopelessly out of the market. For the study of German history Hammond's *Historical Atlas* (New York, 1946), is too brief to replace Shepherd's.

This comprehensive volume should be in public, college, and high-school libraries. It may well lead some lecturers to qualify the oversimplifications that thrill freshmen. It should broaden the bases on which specialists such as economists or church historians judge the past. Editors and radio commentators might glean from it traditions of thought and recurrent precedents for action that frequently masquerade as novelties. Even Washington and Frankfurt am Main might become better prepared for eventualities through this intimate portrayal of the past of a nation whose conduct is of major importance for the peace of the world.

New York City

WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL

VORSPIEL ZUM KRIEG IM OSTEN: VOM MOSKAUER ABKOMMEN (21. AUGUST 1939) BIS ZUM AUSBRUCH DER FEINDSELIGKEITEN IN RUSSLAND (22. JUNI 1941), and EUROPAS LETZTE TAGE: EINE POLITISCHE REISE IM JAHRE 1939. By *Grigore Gafencu*. (Zürich: Amstutz, Herdeg & Co. 1944, 1946. Pp. 463, 256.)

GRIGORE Gafencu was Rumanian foreign minister (December, 1938, to May, 1940) and the last prewar ambassador to Moscow. These books, published also in French editions under the titles *Préliminaires de la guerre à l'est* (Fribourg, 1944) and *Les derniers jours de l'Europe* (Paris, 1946), present his observations upon the developments in Middle Europe between Munich and June, 1941. The *Vorspiel* is the work of greater interest. Gafencu's analysis of Rumanian foreign policy is excellent. The major portion of this book, a play-by-play account of Soviet-Nazi relations, is both reminiscence and synthesis. Statements are often emphatic, but references are few. Undoubtedly the author has relied heavily upon the diplomats' grapevine, an intriguing but not always impeccable source. Nevertheless the *Vorspiel* will continue to be one of the best records of these events until the material from the Berlin archives appears in print. As a source of new information Gafencu's second work is quite inferior to the first. Worth noting, however, is his analysis of Polish foreign policy under Colonel Beck as well as his version of the Russian-British-French negotiations during the summer of 1939.

Gafencu gives new proof that the fate of small nations—and all nations—is securely tied to collective world action. Less familiar than the story of Czechoslovakia, but equally grim, are the details of Rumania's double Munich in the summer of 1940, at the hands of Germany and Russia. From his characterization of Soviet foreign policy we gain valuable perspective for our own times. It becomes evident that Russia's actions toward her western neighbors, although calculated initially in terms of security vis-a-vis Germany, were aimed at the non-Hitlerian European order as well. His record of a conversation with von der Schulenburg merits attention:

When the German ambassador informed me of Molotov's step [suggesting abolition of the European commission for the Danube delta] I directed his attention to the fact that this was not merely a question of abolishing the Danubian regime established at Versailles, but of upsetting the Danubian policy which Europe had pursued in unity since the Crimean War. "That is exactly what Molotov explained to me," von der Schulenburg replied. "Molotov, who knows these Danubian problems well, gave me a historical sketch of Russia's demands and declared that it was a case of Russia's removing herself from the position of inferiority thrust upon her by the outcome of an unsuccessful, *i.e.*, the Crimean, war" [*Vorspiel*, pp. 95-96].

Those who have explained Russia's policy in these years in terms of Soviet reaction to the baseness of Munich and the unreliability of French and British policy will find it difficult to understand the shift in Soviet Balkan policy between May and

September, 1939. In May Deputy Foreign Minister Potemkin made a tour of the Balkans urging resistance to the Nazis and approving of western European guarantees for the Balkan nations. But when Saracoglu of Turkey visited Moscow that fall he was to find a complete reversal in Soviet opinions about British guarantees—and that at a time when Britain was committed to a fight to the finish. There is reason to ponder to what extent these Russian actions strengthened Balkan trends toward collaboration and thus paradoxically vitiated Russia's desire to keep the war from her frontiers. The fact remains that with the Nazi invasion of Yugoslavia the Soviet anti-Hitler (and anti-European) policy had collapsed, and Moscow turned to her last remaining alternative, the pact with Japan. Dramatic, if true, is Gafencu's description of the last meeting between von der Schulenburg and Molotov: the former broken by the failure of his mission (as he conceived it); the latter stating: "This is war. Your Luftwaffe has attacked ten of our open cities. Do you believe that we have earned such treatment at your hands?" (*Vorspiel*, p. 284).

An assessment of these books cannot overlook the fact that Gafencu is a Rumanian patriot of wealth, fairly conservative opinions, and an intense self-esteem; but despite his admiration of Metaxas he is evidently not a congenital fascist or avid collaborator. Gafencu gives a strong impression of attempting to make an honest and unbiased appraisal. He is, in fact, mourning the end of a European era. Interesting, but questionable, is his effort to turn philosopher-historian where he compares Soviet-Nazi collaboration with the relationships between Alexander and Napoleon. Gafencu is strongest where he tells his own story, though his style is irritatingly pompous and verbose.

Several impressions emerge with increasing clarity. Russian policy from 1939 to 1941, though directed immediately at Germany, had other aspects as well. The Russian Bear was able to run with the Nazi wolves somewhat longer but no more successfully than the appeasing lambs of western Europe. And one comes finally to the uncomfortable conclusion that the Bear did at length attain his goals by tremendous sacrifice of life and resources *and* by successfully negotiating with the gentlemen from Washington.

Pomona College

HENRY CORD MEYER

FRA SKANSE TIL SKANSE: MINNE FRA KRIGSMANADONE I NOREG.
By *Halvdan Koht*. (Oslo: Tiden. 1947. Pp. 192.)

IN this volume, the great Norwegian historian, who was Norway's foreign minister for five years prior to the Nazi occupation, records his memoirs of the period from April 8 to June 19, 1940. Few foreign historians are better known to American members of the profession, for Professor Koht has several times lectured and taught in the United States, especially at Harvard. Furthermore, Professor Koht has more than any other Scandinavian historian extended his interests beyond

the small national confines of his own country. His leadership in the international organization of the historical profession has been outstanding. In the revision of the history of Norway, Professor Koht has made absolutely revolutionary contributions.

As is generally known, Halvdan Koht has been under a considerable cloud among his countrymen during and since the war on the ground that he did not take seriously the warnings he was supposed to have received concerning the impending German invasion and thus contributed involuntarily to the unpreparedness of Norway's small defense forces. In the face of these charges Professor Koht has borne himself with great dignity, never stooping to pass blame on to others or to engage in recriminations. The recent Swedish white book on the events prior to the invasion of Norway and Denmark contains very important data which puts Koht in a distinctly more favorable light and the Norwegian minister in Berlin, Scheel, in a dark shadow.

It is characteristic of Koht, both as a personality and as a historian, that in this volume of memoirs he does not deal at all with the calumnies which now occupy so much of his mind. He is too much the professional historian to drag them in where they do not chronologically belong. Therefore the memoirs are a factual, day-to-day account of the work and disappointments of the Norwegian government during the process of German occupation. They are, of course, those of only one member of the government. There are already others and will be more. But these are written by the foreign minister himself, in the absolute integrity of an utterly honest man, and with all the skill and judgment of one whose life has been spent in appraising similar personal documents. As such they are a primary contribution to the history of Norway and of the war. They certainly indicate that the foreign minister had the complete confidence of his associates, that he remained a most important influence in the determination of government policy during this most critical period, and that no one in the government possessed greater capacities of statesmanship. Professor Koht was careful to keep a diary during most of the period, upon which he draws freely for recovery of the information and atmosphere governing each decision. No attempt is made to gloss over errors of judgment, especially those for which Koht considers himself responsible. In spite of the rigidly professional discipline in which the book was written, it is a deeply moving human document.

To the diplomatic historian Professor Koht's memoirs are significant primarily for the light they throw upon the relations between Sweden and Norway, the proposal to seek a truce with Germany which would leave the Norwegian government the territory lying north of a certain "line of demarcation," the fear that Soviet Russia might decide to occupy northern Norway, and the failure of the Allied military command to admit the Norwegian government to its confidence.

New School for Social Research

BRYN J. HOVDE

GERMANY'S UNDERGROUND. By *Allen Welsh Dulles*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1947. Pp. xiii, 207. \$3.00.)

PROBABLY no volume that has thus far appeared on World War II has been more eagerly awaited than this. Those in the know concerning intelligence activities in the European theater have long appreciated the unique opportunities enjoyed by Allen Welsh Dulles in securing an insight into what went on in war-time Germany. As chief of the Office of Strategic Services outpost in Switzerland and then of the OSS mission to Germany he was strategically placed to inform himself concerning the character and activities of the anti-Nazi opposition. In fact, he was himself the most important point of contact between that opposition and the Allied governments. It was not his fault that this contact consisted largely of a one-way traffic.

Anyone who was involved in the investigation of German wartime situations will recall the protracted debate, even in official circles, on the possible existence and probable character of a German underground. Press and radio comment also testified to much public speculation on the subject though the conclusions drawn by the commentators were usually rather negative. Mr. Dulles has now erased the question mark for once and all. He proclaims his conclusion in his title and then sets forth a case that can no longer be challenged.

The volume is a marvel of compactness and precision. Its two hundred small pages beautifully blend factual detail with a flow of broad analysis. Yet all the author's skill in handling his material and in the art of condensation cannot avail to overcome so severe a limitation of space. Mr. Dulles had the material, the knowledge and the insight to create something approaching a definitive work. What he has given us, however, bears the imprint of a very busy man who felt duty-bound to tell his story and yet had to ration his time with strict economy. It is not so much that we must complain of serious gaps; the most necessary parts of the skeletal framework are in their proper places, but one cannot but wish that the bare bones had been rounded out with a little more flesh.

The result of so much condensation is that the full scope of the conspiratorial movement does not altogether emerge. Thus the myriad activities of Goerdeler and others in preparing for the assumption of power all over Germany are not adequately indicated. The important role of the Bosch interests is dismissed with a sentence. The cohesion of the opposition elements in the foreign office does not appear. Von Hassell, Von Trott zu Stolz and von der Schulenburg are treated as individuals but Weizsaecker and the Kordt brothers escape mention.

We may anticipate some complaint from both the democratic Left and the Communists with respect to the space allotted them. Not that Mr. Dulles is at all inclined to refuse justice to the courage and devotion of Social Democrat and Labor oppositionists. He no doubt has less information concerning their operations and, possibly, found them less interesting. Incidentally, the author is in error when he describes the work of the "Sopade" (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutsch-

lands) as having ended only after Munich (p. 103). It was reluctantly suppressed by the Czechoslovak government as the result of British pressure at a much earlier date.

In view of the fact that he produced one of the really great intelligence scoops of the war, Mr. Dulles maintains surprising restraint in treating the Allied failure to exploit the information he forwarded. Of his failure to induce Washington to match one or two almost innocuous British gestures of encouragement to the anti-Nazis he says only, "Nothing of this nature was done" (p. 141). The Allied leaders, like their Nazi opponents, were the victims of their own war propaganda which insisted that all Germans were in the same boat. Anything which conflicted with this thesis was not welcome. The obstinacy of the Allied chiefs on this point is the more amazing in view of the many prewar messages on the development of opposition projects and the pleas for firmness which went with them. This part of the Dulles story still needs much amplification. The journeys of Trott, Schlabrendorff, Erich Kordt, and Goerdeler to London and of the last named to the United States were epics of frustration. The men to whom they addressed their warnings and entreaties such as Halifax, Churchill, and Vansittart—yes, Vansittart!—spoke and acted, both then and later, as if no opposition to Nazism existed. We still have almost everything to learn concerning the reaction and discussions of British government circles; the Washington story is a complete blank. Perhaps General Donovan will some day tell us about the reaction of those to whom he passed on the information sent from Switzerland. In which Washington wastebasket did it land?

Mr. Dulles also gives attention, somewhat in passing, to more general Allied war policies from the standpoint of their effect on the anti-Nazi movement. His judgment of the unconditional surrender policy is frankly unfavorable. While confessing himself an early advocate of the wholesale bombing of "civilian objectives," he later came to deplore this policy as inimical to our psychological warfare. Generally speaking, the latter seems to have done nothing to encourage those elements that were most inclined to assist in our victory.

University of Minnesota

HAROLD C. DEUTSCH

Far Eastern History

LA QUESTION D'EXTREME-ORIENT, 1840-1940. By *Pierre Renouvin*, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1946. Pp. 435. 250 fr.)

In this survey, M. Renouvin presents one of the clearest accounts that has yet appeared of the relations among the powers during the last century in the Far East and the Pacific. His narrative traces the European approach to the Far East and notes the early mid-century beginning of rivalry and suspicion between the Russians, advancing into Manchuria by land, and the trading powers—Britain and

the United States—who led the way in the opening of China and Japan, respectively. The commercial motif is again evident in the early French expansion in Indo-China. After an analysis of Japan's transformation and China's stagnation, leading up to the Chinese crisis of 1894-1901, the book recounts Japan's rise to great-power status, her expansion during World War I, its checking by the peace settlement and resumption again in China in the 1930's, leading to eventual defeat in World War II.

Within this broad canvas M. Renouvin, with extreme lucidity and compactness, has been able to summarize the significant developments in Indo-China, Burma, and Siam, in the Pacific Islands, and within China and Japan, as a background for the drama of international relations down to 1946.

In the present state of scholarship no volume covering so much of the Far East could avoid weakness in some respect, and I suggest that this treatment of diplomatic relations suffers at some points from inadequate attention to the institutional and social traditions of the Far Eastern peoples. The main reason for this is doubtless that there are few good studies as yet available linking modern politics to their essential background in Asiatic institutions and history. Since Japan has been more fully studied, while areas like Indo-China have been, comparatively, passive under the Western impact, this weakness in interpretation shows up chiefly in some parts of M. Renouvin's treatment of China. Though it is almost a counsel of perfection to point it out, his treatment of the Taiping rebellion neglects its fundamental social and economic background: he states that "*Cette crise elle-même n'est sans doute qu'une conséquence indirecte de la défaite subie, en 1842, par la dynastie dans la guerre de l'opium,*" and proceeds to describe the influence of secret societies and of the Taiping religion, without reference to the extensive work which has been done on the subject of Chinese peasant revolts, the dynastic cycle, and commercial penetration.

While this is a minor matter of a few pages, I mention it because the same disregard of the native Chinese tradition seems to me to detract from the author's treatment of the Chinese Communist problem. In brief, he traces with superb clarity the Russian expansionist trend in the Far East—on the Amur and the Pacific, in Korea, in Manchuria in the 1900's and again in the 1920's—and recounts also the Comintern activity in the Chinese Nationalist revolution of the 1920's. Coming down to Russia's reaction to Japanese aggression in China, he then states "*En février 1937, le Parti communiste chinois, à l'instigation de l'International Communiste, adresse un appel au Kuomintang; il lui offre une 'collaboration amicale' . . .*" While I have never seen the evidence for strong Comintern influence in this decision, it may exist; my point is that this approach to Chinese Communist policy as a mere reflection of Russian interests leaves out of account an entirely separate line of development which stems from the revolutionary process within China—a process which in broad terms began before communism and would have occurred even if communism had never been invented. Chiang Kai-shek's deten-

tion in the Sian incident of December, 1936, in which the Chinese Communists mediated and which has generally been regarded as the prelude to the united front, was part of this native process, not part of Russian or Comintern activity in China.

In other words, treatment of China's revolutionary processes from the point of view primarily of great-power politics may lead us into disastrous misconceptions. China today, for example, in spite of strident American propaganda concerning Russian influence there, is not alone a Russo-American field of tension; it is also a peculiar Oriental society with a long and valid revolutionary tradition, remaking itself according to its own needs and conditions.

In line with this suggestion, the useful bibliographical notes for each chapter could be improved by the addition of standard works like those of Sansom and E. H. Norman on Japan, or Latourette and MacNair (*China in Revolution*) on China, instead of some of the less thorough works cited.

I raise these minor points only because M. Renouvin's high standing in the field of diplomatic history makes it unnecessary to dilate upon his masterly grasp of the subject of this book and the great precision and finesse of his presentation of it.

Harvard University

J. K. FAIRBANK

CHINA. Edited by *Harley Farnsworth MacNair*, Professor of Far Eastern History and Institutions in the University of Chicago. [The United Nations Series.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1946. Pp. xxix, 573. \$6.50.)

It is with a sense of both pleasure and profound regret that one sits down to review this survey of Chinese history and civilization. The regret derives from the fact that it will be one of the last works to show the imprint of Professor MacNair's able pen and profound learning. (Another work on *The Far East in the Twentieth Century*, by MacNair and Lach is soon to appear.) His untimely death in June deprived America of one of her most able Far Eastern scholars. The pleasure comes from the fact that the book is an editorial triumph for Professor MacNair. To unite thirty-four chapters, written by thirty-three different persons, into an essentially homogeneous and well-balanced whole represents editorial work at its best. Thirteen of the chapters are by Chinese and twenty-one by Westerners with considerable diversity of backgrounds, yet sharp variations in style are not evident, conflicting factual data regarding dates, etc., have been almost entirely eliminated and duplication and overlapping have been reduced to a minimum. Clarity and simplicity of presentation have generally been maintained, and Professor MacNair has woven into the fabric of the work numerous dates and short passages of factual information necessary to clear understanding and unity.

The book is divided into six parts: "Backgrounds" (three chapters); "Historical and Political Development" (nine chapters); "Philosophy and Religion" (eight

chapters); "The Arts, Literature, and Education" (ten chapters); "Economics and Reconstruction" (three chapters); and "Retrospect and Prospect" (one chapter). "Molding Forces" by Han Yü-shan discusses the idea of harmony with nature, reverence for elders, the examination system, the importance placed on history, and the use of proverbs as basic factors which have guided Chinese destinies down the years. Derke Bodde in "Dominant Ideas" emphasizes the Chinese devotion to ethics and social relationships, nature, the family and the patriarchal state, learning, nonviolence, and the right of revolution. Bishop White concludes Part One with a brief summary of the revelations of recent excavations.

Chinese history to the end of the Shang dynasty is concisely presented by L. Carrington Goodrich, the Chou period by Ch'en Meng-chia, and the period from the rise of Ch'in to the fall of T'ang is admirably presented by Teng Ssu-yü. Franz H. Michael gives an especially good interpretative account of China from the rise of Sung until the end of the Ch'ing dynasty and particularly brings out the similar pattern and common factors involved in the rise and fall of almost all major Chinese dynasties. In his chapter on "Chinese Society and the Dynasties of Conquest," Karl Wittfogel discusses the influences on China of invading nomadic peoples and takes issue with the current belief that they were all quickly absorbed into the Chinese cultural pattern. Professor MacNair gives a concise and clear factual summary of the warlord phase of the republic (1911-28), and Paul Linebarger and Robert Hosack interpret the resurgence phase of the republic (1928-46) under the Kuomintang without mentioning graft or oppressive and incompetent local government. Agnes Smedley, however, has revenge in the next chapter on "Social Revolution" where she lambasts with moderation (for her) the Nationalists and consistently misuses, as is the fashion with left-wing writers, the word democracy when praising the achievements in Communist areas. The survey of Chinese history is concluded with a summary of international relations in the twentieth century by Esson M. Gale.

Hu Shih's discussion of "Chinese Thought" is one of the best chapters in the book, except for his failure to give any exposition of Buddhist thought. Successive chapters by Lewis Hodous on folk religion, John K. Shryock on Confucianism, Chan Wing-tsit on "Neo-Confucianism" and "Trends in Contemporary Philosophy," Homer Dubs on Taoism, Clarence Hamilton on Buddhism and K. S. Latourette on Christianity complete a generally enlightening and adequate discussion on religion and philosophy. Hamilton devotes perhaps too little space to older Buddhism and too much to current tendencies, Dubs's discussion of philosophical Taoism is excellent, but his account of its development as a religion confirms the sad fact that it is a field which needs much more study. Chan Wing-tsit's chapters would have been better for the purposes of this book had he used less technical language, but one is especially grateful to him for his summary of the trends in modern Chinese thought, despite the fact that he does not even mention Sun Yat-sen, presumably because he does not classify him as a philosopher.

Of the ten chapters dealing with arts, literature, and education, Henry K. Murphy's succinct summary of the principles of traditional Chinese architecture and how they can be preserved in modern construction appealed most to this reviewer. An earlier paper of Florence Ayscough, edited by Professor MacNair, deals with the close relationship between calligraphy, poetry, and painting, while Chiang Yee stresses the influence which calligraphy has exercised on painting and even the plastic arts. Hsiung Shih-i presents much interesting material on the origin and development of the drama. Wang Chi-chen's evaluation of traditional Chinese literature is not nearly as complimentary as is that of Pearl S. Buck, who thinks that folk literature especially has achieved a "synthesis of individualism and universalism [which] is China's peculiar gift to modern times." Dryden Linsley Phelps ably discusses the flood of contemporary literary and artistic creations which began after 1917 with the use of the colloquial language and reached a crescendo during the war years, while Alice Tisdale Hobart discusses the influence of China upon American literature. The influence of missionaries and America upon modern education in China is well presented by F. L. H. Pott, and Teng Ssu-yü in his discussion of the Chinese examination system shows how it influenced development of the civil service system in the West.

Wu Ching-ch'ao in his general discussion of economic development emphasizes the historic importance of tenancy, and of irrigation and government granaries in combatting famine in China's agrarian society, while A. Kaiming Chiu ably surveys the present agricultural situation, its problems and what is being done about them. Li Choh-ming shows the role of foreign trade both in destroying handicraft industry and in introducing industrialization. David N. Rowe's chapter on "China among the Nations" concludes the book with the warning that only unselfish co-operation between the United States, Britain, and Russia to help China can enable her to promote world peace and play the role in the world that the San Francisco Conference awarded her.

Two maps, a number of well-chosen illustrations, a rather extensive bibliography, detailed biographical information about each author and a good index enhance the value of the book, but this reviewer must protest the putting of the notes to each chapter in a separate section at the end of the book, an abominable practice grown altogether too common of late.

As one of the "United Nations Series" books put out by the University of California Press, its obvious purpose is to provide a well-balanced account of Chinese history and civilization which will appeal to the more discerning and serious members of the reading public. Its comprehensiveness would have been enhanced by chapters on geography and peoples, language, government, social and economic institutions, and a little more information about sculpture, and its public appeal would have been increased by a somewhat lower sales price. In comparison with a book like Latourette's *The Chinese* (which is somewhat larger) it has certain advantages and disadvantages. It is a little more technical in many

places, inevitably possesses less unity, and its account of Chinese history is less complete and detailed. On the other hand it derives certain advantages from the differing points of view and interests of its numerous authors, and its discussion of philosophy and religion, arts and letters, and the contemporary economic scene is not only more complete in certain respects than Latourette's but adds considerable factual information not readily accessible elsewhere. All in all it is an excellent work which will remain of great value for years to come.

University of Chicago

EARL H. PRITCHARD

American History

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY. By *Herbert W. Schneider*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1947. Pp. xiv, 646. \$4.50.)

THE first effort to trace the course of formal American thinking came from the pen of a philosopher, I. Woodbridge Riley. He published his pioneer volume in 1915 and called it *American Thought from Puritanism to Pragmatism*. Since that path-breaking undertaking students of literature and of history, as well as a second philosopher, have undertaken narratives and interpretations. The present work by a third philosopher appearing thirty-one years after Riley's work might also appropriately be subtitled "From Puritanism to Pragmatism," though Dr. Schneider prefers James's term, radical empiricism. The four excellent concluding chapters of the volume, dealing with this subject, begin with Peirce and end with a quotation from Dewey. The similarities suggested by the limits of the earliest and latest undertakings end, however, with them, for Dr. Schneider has had the advantage of the scholarship that has intervened since Riley ran a shallow and uncertain furrow across a somewhat stubborn field. The present author makes full use of this research and the interpretations that have grown out of it. His bibliographical chapters are most useful.

The historian who wrestles with the problem of discovering significant patterns or sequences in the confusion of ideas set forth in the writings of generations that have passed from the American scene turns hopefully to the trained philosopher for new insights and perhaps a fresh approach. He discovers in the present essay the most recent version of what Herbert Baxter Adams in the 1880's spoke of to his seminar at Johns Hopkins as the germ theory of history. Dr. Schneider, like the diffusionist school in anthropology of a quarter of a century ago, emphasizes the migration of culture traits and sees the history of American philosophy as a somewhat blurred and often distorted succession of reflections of changing European philosophy. "America," he remarks, "was intellectually colonial long after it gained political independence and has been intellectually provincial long after it ceased being intellectually colonial. We still live intellectually on the fringe of European culture." Dr. Schneider is at his best in tracing the impact upon

American thought of Ramus, Locke, Kant, and Hegel. Curiously enough he brushes off Rousseau, who Irving Babbitt thought had demoralized nineteenth century Americans, with three brief references.

Dr. Curti, trained in the school of social history, relates ideas to the social scenes of which they are a part. Dr. Schneider suggests that the American environment has modified and even at times warped the intellectual importations from Europe. Yet in his pages description of environmental influences are almost nonexistent and his discussion of the ideas of individuals is frequently so brief that he leaves his thesis undeveloped. He recognizes the importance of the social background particularly in the present age. He remarks in his preface that there are good reasons for believing that we stand at the beginning of a new cultural epoch. "The times have been too eventful not to be creative of new ideas, especially among men who for at least a generation have focussed their attention on events." The American generation whose adult life fell in the last quarter of the eighteenth century certainly focused its attention on events. Dr. Schneider could have strengthened his account had he related the thought of this period more closely to the tensions and crises, the victories and defeats of a revolutionary period.

In the same year that *A History of American Philosophy* appeared, another American philosopher, Dr. Northrop, brought out *The Meeting of East and West*. A comparison of the conclusions of these two scholars in the same discipline suggests one of the outstanding problems in the history of ideas in America. Dr. Northrop finds the evolution of American thought simple. He appears to affirm that it grows directly out of the premises and postulates formulated by one man, John Locke, who made clear the implications for human society of Newton's epoch-making discoveries in physics. "In short," remarks Dr. Northrop, "the traditional culture of the United States is an applied utopia in which the philosophy of John Locke defined the good." Dr. Northrop affirms the uniqueness of American tradition, unfolding as a result of something like a logical determinism from the premises that Locke derived from Newton's physics. Dr. Schneider deals with this matter of an American tradition but finds no single theme, no controlling pattern. "Have they [American traditions] a central content," he asks, "a dominant note, or a moral lesson? I think not. The reader of this story will probably be at least as bewildered as I am in trying to tell what American history teaches or what American philosophy 'stands for.'" The polar differences between the two philosophers in their interpretation of American tradition brings into the open a question that has become in these latter years of peculiar importance. Those who work in intellectual history must face it and deal with it. They should be grateful to Dr. Schneider for his honesty and frankness in announcing his skepticism. But he can hardly be said to have given the final solution of the problem.

Yale University

RALPH H. GABRIEL

FREE RELIGION: AN AMERICAN FAITH. By *Stow Persons*, Assistant Professor of History, Princeton University. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, XLVIII.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1947. Pp. 168. \$3.00.)

THE goal of the historian is objectivity. It is his purpose to discover and compile facts, to put them in relevant juxtaposition and then to present them in accordance with a particular plan. This was not only the aim of nineteenth century historians but they believed that the most conscientiously dispassionate and the ablest of them achieved it. The twentieth century, gazing upon their works in historical perspective, knows they failed, not because they were not conscientious enough, nor yet because they were not able enough, but because they set for themselves an impossible task. We now hold that it is impossible for a man to write a thoroughly objective history, for he can never hope to divorce himself completely from the unseen preconceptions of his century and his nation, his cultural background and his personal experience.

Hence we are particularly conscious, these days, of the point of view of the historian and are perhaps too careful to assess the extent to which his point of view invades his writing. This question, for example, continually plagues the reader of Professor Stow Persons' *Free Religion, an American Faith*. The book is a detailed, dispassionate, factual study of the most radical organized religious movement America has seen, namely, the Free Religious Association. This association was organized in 1867 by malcontents in the Unitarian denomination, which stood in the nineteenth century and still stands at the extreme left of the Protestant denominations. But even Unitarianism was too orthodox, too confining, too lacking in freedom for some of its constituents, and they founded the Free Religious Association to provide an adequate vehicle through which to express their own religious ideas.

What does Professor Persons think of this movement? As a historian perhaps he is not supposed to appraise it, and he tries not to do so except to show the liberalizing influence of the Free Religious Association upon the later history of the Unitarian denomination. Yet his book seems to be shot through with an irrepressible urge to pass judgment, which unfortunately works both ways. The very title of the book indicates the confusion I allude to. Which way are we to read the title: "Free Religion, *an* American Faith," *i.e.*, one of the faiths flourishing in America among many others equally good or better? Much of his writing seems to indicate that this is his meaning. Or shall we read the title "Free Religion, *an American Faith*," *i.e.*, a faith characteristic of America? Much of his writing seems to indicate that this latter is his meaning. Now the two points of view are by no means the same. Free religion may be one of the multitudinous forms which a divided and subdivided American church has assumed. On the other hand, it may be an emerging faith, so characteristic of America that it will come to be regarded as one of America's contributions to the religion of humanity. Which is it? It cannot be both. Professor Persons does not seem to have made up

his mind. That he is not unaware of the problem is seen in the preface, where he states that his aim is to show the significance of the work of the Free Religious Association. This he does in masterly fashion. But his long-range judgment upon the significance of the movement is neither absent nor is it as clear, when it is present, as one earnestly wishes it were.

Apart from this defect, the book is strongly to be commended. It is readable, factual, even interesting, which is a lot to say for this kind of volume. Professor Persons has made a thorough search among the sources, citing unpublished manuscripts and letters in many instances. He has consulted the obscure periodicals of the period, the tracts and the pamphlets, as well as the more standard and better-known books relevant to his task. The footnotes guide the scholar unerringly to the sources, and they are all primary. The author knows them at first hand and does not rely upon the judgment of others. This fact not only gives the book the ring of authenticity but lends it the feeling of freshness and originality, in spite of the dust-laden character of the sources upon which it relies.

We owe Professor Persons a debt of gratitude for this study. He has not only rescued a significant chapter of American religious history from oblivion but he has presented it to this generation with competence, clarity, and imagination.

Boston, Massachusetts

DUNCAN HOWLETT

HISTORY AND BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS, 1690-1820. By *Clarence S. Brigham*. Two volumes. (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society. 1947. Pp. xvii, 757; 758-1508. \$15.00.)

WITH the publication of "Brigham's List" one of the great individual bibliographical undertakings of our time has reached a triumphant conclusion. Since 1913, when the first installment appeared in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, Mr. Brigham's compilation has been indispensable to workers in early American history, and now their path is made more easy by the gathering of all the information formerly scattered through many volumes into two sturdily bound volumes, beautifully printed on high-grade paper. An interesting introduction informs us that from 1690 to 1820 there were 2,120 different newspapers published in the United States. Of this total the six New England states had 447 papers, the six Middle Atlantic states from New York to Maryland had 1,023 papers, the ten Southern states from Virginia to Louisiana had 425 papers, and the seven Western states had 225 papers. For the leading cities the figures were: New York 138, Philadelphia 107, and Boston 73. *The Pennsylvania Gazette* enjoyed the longest continual period of publication, eighty-seven years, 1728 to 1815; yet as Mr. Brigham observes, "the mortality in newspapers before 1821 was notable." Before they reached two years of publication 1,118 papers expired; 1,002 failed to last through four years.

As one turns the pages of this work, he is struck with the prosaic nature of the titles of the colonial newspapers; after the Revolution, however, flamboyance char-

acterizes many of them. Some editors regarded themselves as public gadflies—witness the Auburn, New York, *Castigator* and the use of *Scourge* as a title at Boston, Providence, and Baltimore. But what shall we say of two sheets called *The Boston Idiot or Invisible Rambler* and *The Forlorn Hope* of New York!

A new and most valuable feature of this final edition, which will benefit historians immeasurably, is the inclusion of data about reproductions of newspaper files. Where the information is available Mr. Brigham gives the source and date of the reproductions, whether in photostat or in microfilm, and the names of the institutions or persons possessing sets of the files. In this connection it might be mentioned that the completest file of photostats of *The Virginia Gazette* is to be found at the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg; that *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (1728–89) is available in microfilm at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; and that *The Connecticut Courant* (1764–92) may be had from the Connecticut Historical Society at Hartford. The only omission of an original file that I have noted is the fine three-year run of Goddard's *Pennsylvania Chronicle* (1767–69), owned by the John Carter Brown Library at Providence.

These few omissions serve only to indicate the amazing completeness of this bibliography, which is as near to being definitive as any such work could possibly be. Mr. Brigham may now rest from his labors, but for the benefit of future scholars it is earnestly hoped that the American Antiquarian Society will publish additions to this very useful work as they come to hand.

Institute of Early American History and Culture

CARL BRIDENBAUGH

JOURNALISM IN THE UNITED STATES. By Robert W. Jones. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1947. Pp. xvi, 728. \$7.50.)

THE publication in 1917 of James Melvin Lee's *History of American Journalism* has been followed by four other histories of American journalism, including that under review here, and by a sociological study of the American newspaper which is heavy in historical content. In invading a field already so extensively covered, Professor Jones has broadened the subject matter by including such material as the development of rural weeklies, the growth of magazines and the trade press, some of the social and economic factors influencing the publishing industry, and academic instruction in journalism. This book is also, of course, the first to include World War II.

Such value as is added by the inclusion of these hitherto little-explored fields suffers, however, by the fact that Professor Jones's study is marked by numerous errors of names and of fact, and by dogmatic assertions of historic half-truths which would not have been made by a more competent or more cautious writer.

Characteristic of many similar errors are such names as Matthew (it was Mather) Byles, of James (John is correct) Fenno, of Altmar (Ottmar) Mergenthaler, of Governor Caroudelet (it should be Carondelet). O. Henry's real name

was given as Sydney J. (it was William Sydney) Porter. We read that at the time of the John Peter Zenger trial in 1735, "The English law had been that, in case of seditious libel, 'the greater the truth, the greater the libel.'" That doctrine had been brought forward, it is true, but remained questionable until the libel trials under George III. Andrew Hamilton, Zenger's counsel, cited authoritative cases to show that, exclusive of Star Chamber opinions, judicial precedent had required falsity as an essential ingredient in libel. We read that "steam was first applied to the task of moving the printing press in 1822" in Boston, although Frederick Koenig's steam press was operated successfully by the London *Times* in 1814. We read that Joseph Pulitzer's will left the New York *World* to his son, Ralph. In fact, the will left the paper to the publisher's three sons, with complicated safeguards to deter them from disposing of the property.

This is the first journalistic history to attempt a discussion of the social or economic background against which the press developed, but the presentation is inconsistent and in some cases not in accordance with the facts. For instance, Professor Jones attributes the rise of the penny press of the 1830's to economic depression. Such an interpretation overlooks the fact that the Boston *Transcript*, the New York *Sun* and *Herald*, and the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* were established before the panic of 1837, and shows little comprehension of the nature of Jacksonian democracy. Several pages are devoted to the author's own diagnosis of the depression which followed 1929. His diagnosis, which places the blame on foreign trade restrictions, is a controversial matter, but he condemns the press for having failed to convert the public to his own view.

In pointing to the social and economic background of the press, Professor Jones recognizes a movement which has been gaining strength among students of journalistic history during the past decade. However, a competent study of the social history of American journalism will require a sounder grasp than this author possesses.

Pennsylvania State College

FREDERICK B. MARBUT

THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE: ITS FIRST HUNDRED YEARS. Volume III, 1880-1900. By Philip Kinsley. (Chicago: Chicago Tribune, 1946. Pp. xiv, 359, xiv.)

IN June, 1947, the Chicago *Tribune*, according to its own lights "The World's Greatest Newspaper," celebrated its one hundredth anniversary. Four days and nights were devoted to the display of 50,000 pounds of fireworks; army and navy planes flew above Chicagoland; motorboats raced over the waters of Lake Michigan, and thousands of "screened" citizens offered congratulations to Colonel Robert R. McCormick at elaborately arranged receptions, luncheons, and banquets. Far less spectacular, but of greater permanence than these demonstrations, is the several volume history of the newspaper written as part of the *Tribune* centenary by the veteran newsman Philip Kinsley. Three volumes have now appeared. The

first covers the early years of *Tribune* history, 1847-1865 (see the *American Historical Review*, XLIX [January, 1944], 310-12.) The second traces the expanding influence of this midwest journal, 1865-1880 (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, LII [October, 1946], 147-48.) The third volume spans the period 1880-1900, when Joseph Medill was the dominant policy maker.

Under the Medill guidance the *Tribune* continued the healthy growth of the preceding years. Its circulation and advertising increased annually, and by 1884 fast mails carried it into the towns of nearby states to be read at the breakfast table. By 1886 it had instituted a special literary supplement to the Saturday issue as well as special agriculture and livestock reports. Novel features to attract women readers appeared frequently, and sports enthusiasts found their fancies the object of attention. In 1886 the management abandoned the practice of devoting the first page of the daily edition to advertisements and reduced its price from five to three cents a copy.

Like many of its contemporaries the *Tribune* was not above vicious journalism, horror stories, and name-calling. It was Republican in politics, although not slavishly so. It frankly approved the acquisition of territories outside the continental boundaries as outposts of trade. After the Spanish-American War it urged in both editorials and cartoons an unrelaxing advance in the Pacific and Caribbean as the manifest destiny of the United States. It abandoned the free trade stand of Horace White of the 1870's and endorsed "fair and reasonable protection." An income tax it held confiscatory of funds which could be used to extend business and give employment to labor; and strikes and other protests of labor were characterized as communistic and un-American.

In carrying his chronicle forward, Mr. Kinsley continues the pattern of his previous volumes. Episode follows episode regardless of relationship. A process of selection to which he necessarily had to subscribe led the author to omit important subjects such as the Eight-Hour Movement prior to the Haymarket Riot. Using the files of the *Tribune* as the source of his history Mr. Kinsley at times repeats inaccuracies as they appeared in the paper. For example, the well-known anarchist Albert R. Parsons appears as August Parsons (pp. 90, 94, 95). It is regrettable that no concluding comments by the author weave into some unified organization the unorganized information presented the reader. This volume, like the two preceding, is little more than a day-by-day account of what the *Tribune* reported.

University of Chicago

BESSIE LOUISE PIERCE

MOREAU DE ST. MERY'S AMERICAN JOURNEY (1793-1798). Translated and Edited by Kenneth Roberts and Anna M. Roberts. Preface by Kenneth Roberts. Introduction by Stewart L. Mims. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1947. Pp. xxi, 394. \$5.00.)

WHILE preparing to write *Lydia Bailey* Mr. Roberts became interested in the works of Moreau de St. Méry on San Domingo and America. As a result Mr. and

Mrs. Roberts have translated the *Voyage aux Etats Unis de l'Amérique, 1793-98*, which Stewart Mims found in the colonial archives in Paris and published in 1913. Moreau's diary of his four years in the United States is in many ways more interesting than those of other Frenchmen who wrote of their American travels in that period. Moreau knew the part of the country about which he wrote better than a casual traveler and fortunately took very little from hearsay. There are detailed descriptions of New York, Philadelphia, Norfolk, and some of the towns between them but very little comment about the rural life of the coast and none about the "back country." For a French political leader in exile he has surprisingly little to say of political life, but he gives a great deal of intimate detail about social life and customs. Of greatest value to the social and economic historians are the details on prices and wages, on foods, and on travel. Those interested in France will find here a clear picture of the life of French *émigrés* in America by the man who was the center of the *émigré* colony in Philadelphia. Moreau's comparisons of American with French character and customs throw light on some aspects of French life which the French at home had no occasion to mention.

While the facts are interesting, Moreau's style is sometimes dull and haphazard. Although the translation on the whole is excellent, I found one case where there was confusion in rendering a direct into an indirect quotation. In Champion's letter of December 26, 1797 (p. 249), the sentence following "I told him" should be a direct quotation addressed to Talleyrand, so all the second and third person pronouns should be in the second person, referring to Talleyrand. Mr. Mims's introduction to the French edition has been reproduced here except for the explanation of the form of the diary. This last omission is regrettable because the student using the English edition wants to know that the later events and the descriptions of New York and Philadelphia were inserted in the diary by Moreau himself when he prepared the manuscript for publication and that the additions were based on newspaper information. The index is quite complete and very helpful.

This book should make interesting collateral reading for courses in American social history.

Mt. Holyoke College

WILMA J. PUGH

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. By *Nathan Schachner*. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1946. Pp. vi, 488. \$4.00.)

To Mr. Schachner, the author of a life of Aaron Burr, unquestionably belongs the distinction of having written the best biography of Hamilton thus far produced; but it is a biography of a special type. He has given us an incisive and graphic narrative of Hamilton's career, based on the fullest study of manuscript sources yet made, and containing a remarkable number of new facts. He has not placed that career in its broad historical setting, has not dealt with Hamilton or his time in a philosophical spirit, and has not offered any searching interpretation

of the man's achievement. In fine, this is a highly personal biography, its emphasis falling upon the individual to the neglect of the times.

The points at which Mr. Schachner has added to our knowledge of Hamilton the man are numerous. He has corrected and supplemented Lodge's edition of the letters in a striking way; he has set Channing right on one matter of importance, Madison's opinion of the Constitution as a permanent compact; and he has shown that previous biographers got some very wrong notions from J. C. Hamilton, Hercules Mulligan, and Troup. Hamilton's public career emerges from these pages undimmed in luster. To be sure, he was a maladroit party leader, being too ruthless, too hostile to compromises, too unready to conceal unpopular opinions, and too contemptuous of plain voters—as well as too impetuous. In his ability to play upon fellow leaders and to influence many of the top men in government, however, he was almost unrivaled. Mr. Schachner emphasizes the remarkable constancy of his principles; Jefferson, Madison, and even Adams might change, but Hamilton kept true to his polestar. This book offers evidence for placing a higher estimate than before upon Hamilton's work in the Continental Congress, his share in the Federal Convention, and his contributions to the thought of the *Federalist*. Not merely are his great reports clearly treated, but his wonderful work in organizing the Treasury is well described. His private life, however, suffers new blotches from Mr. Schachner's patient combing of the Jay, Rufus King, Hamilton, and other manuscripts. While Hamilton's own financial probity was perfect, he allowed his friend Andrew Craigie, his assistant William Duer, and his connections in the Schuyler family to speculate in public securities on inside knowledge of his re-funding plan. His streak of harshness comes out in his treatment of Robert Morris as debtor of the Schuyler-Church family. His flirtation (to use no sharper word) with his sister-in-law, Angelica Church, filled his friends with fear of a terrible scandal. Finally, Mr. Schachner shows that in the events leading to the Burr duel Hamilton's provocations were more deliberate and persistent than previous accounts would suggest.

Altogether, this is a valuable study of Hamilton's personal record. Throughout, the failure to paint in the historical background, to present in full complexity the main political issues of the time, and to furnish critical interpretations of events, limit the usefulness of the work. The final third of the volume is (apart from the Burr duel) its weakest part. The research is too scanty and the treatment too rapid to furnish a proper study of Hamilton's connection with Jay and his treaty, of the rise of parties, of the difficulties within the Adams administration, of the war scare in 1798, or of the disunionist schemes of 1803-1804 in New York and New England. Nevertheless, as a record of the many and varied activities of Hamilton and an exploration of his character, the book is more thorough, accurate, and impartial than any of its predecessors. Its style is clear, concise, and vigorous, and it is adequately annotated. To both scholars and general readers it may be warmly commended.

Columbia University

ALLAN NEVINS

COMMONWEALTH: A STUDY OF THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN THE AMERICAN ECONOMY: MASSACHUSETTS, 1774-1861. By *Oscar Handlin* and *Mary Flug Handlin*. [Studies in Economic History, Prepared under the direction of the Committee on Research in Economic History, Social Science Research Council.] (New York: New York University Press. 1947. Pp. xiii, 364. \$3.50.)

Those who are writing history for the National Association of Manufacturers to justify the historic freedom of private enterprise before there was a New Deal would do well to consider carefully the evidence in this book. The authors set out to examine objectively from the Revolution to the Civil War the whole course of governmental action in Massachusetts and especially the lawmaking which accompanied the evolution of the original concept of commonwealth. The public interest in particular enterprises grew with those private activities as the sovereignty of the commonwealth went to their aid.

The idea of *laissez faire* was never determining. By the end of the period Massachusetts had become a regulatory police state instead of a commonwealth. The initial thought that the government should take an active part in productive enterprise gave way as private corporations obtained grants of privilege from the commonwealth. In time there came freedom also from many of the restrictions of the very government which had granted the privilege. But other controls developed to safeguard public interest, to protect minor parties in the corporations, and to look out for those who were employed.

The opening chapters show the foundation and consolidation of political power in the new state as the revolutionary will of the towns in the colony broke the hold of royal government. They would have freedom from king and Parliament but, in spite of conflicting elements within, they would not have disintegration. They would retain under a constitution of their own their common interest, or in the words of the English theorist Harrington, "one public will." The new commonwealth sought to encourage manufacturing and to foster economic activities generally, by licensing, bounties, exemption from taxation, by establishing fair practices and systems of inspection, by granting lands from the public domain and permitting lotteries, even by entering into association with private owners much as it co-operated with the towns. In the case of the Beverly Company organized to stimulate the textile industry, the commonwealth not only gave the right to use the prestige of its name in the corporate seal on the company's products but made up the deficit of the first four years with a gift of land and a lottery.

Succeeding chapters unfold the changing relationship between the commonwealth of Massachusetts and its banks, insurance companies, bridge companies, factories, railroads, its entire productive and distributing system as the corporations developed into bodies of limited liability. They changed from agencies with full responsibility and—on account of that responsibility—power to assess their stockholders. Attendant upon the release from liability to assessment, stockholders

often found that power was gone also to control the business of which they were still the legal owners. Managers became less responsible individually as the corporation became a person at the law. Their power to administer the property of others, and affairs that involved the public interest, remained as great.

The law of private rights thus evolved clearly to the benefit of individuals. Acquiescence became the tendency of the state. And yet there was no surrender to propertied interest as such. With immigration and what the authors call the fragmentation of society into urban and rural, more and less favored, wealthier and poorer elements, social and even class legislation put in an appearance. It was certain to be called class legislation by those who did not like it. Farmers demanded and got charters for free bridges. Workingmen obtained the right to mechanics' liens. The poor laws were improved. Reformers failing to establish temperance with moral suasion turned to coercion with liquor laws. Principles regarding child labor and requirements for education were framed by the legislature. Private rights held their place but they were subjected to more extensive policing for the common weal.

Let no one think that this ambitious narrative, though absorbing, will be easy to read. It is very hard going. The authors prefer the oblique where the direct approach would be clearer. They employ cautious and complicated phrasing when a simple forthright statement would be gratifying, and just as well supported by the evidence. They decided at the start that they would not venture to assess the effects upon economic trends in Massachusetts of the governmental actions which they proposed to discuss. It seems to me that they should have endeavored to reveal some of the major consequences at least, if they would uphold the standards of historiography set in the preface.

Andover, Massachusetts

ARTHUR B. DARLING

THE BEGINNING OF THE U. S. ARMY, 1783-1812. By *James Ripley Jacobs*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1947. Pp. ix, 419. \$5.00.)

The Beginning of the U. S. Army, 1783-1812 is, in the main, a blow-by-blow account of the frontier operations of our tiny regular army of the period. There will be many who will object to this perpetuation of the idea that our army "began" in 1783, but the author differentiates between the "provisional force" of the Revolution and the standing army that was so begrudgingly legislated at the termination of that conflict.

The book is the first to deal in detail with the subject. The operations of Harmar, St. Clair, and Wayne are extensively treated, as are the other Indian campaigns, the explorations, and the hard and dangerous duties of the frontier post. Colonel Jacobs has made use of a large amount of original material and, as a result, has given us a valuable account of the daily life of the American soldier of the pre-1812 period. The narrative moves along smoothly and pleasantly.

To a great extent, as might be expected, this book is also the story of James Wilkinson, for half the time the senior officer of the force. The author has preserved a fair balance in treating with this voluble, shifty character, ignoring neither the charges laid at his door nor the military duties and responsibilities Wilkinson carried out successfully.

This book is not certain things. It is not, for example, a balanced study of our early military establishment. Colonel Jacobs has followed in the footsteps of most other historians of the army in his attitude toward congressional tightness, and in his dismissal of the militia with a few scornful sentences. He speaks nowhere of the elaborate volunteer organizations that flourished in all our cities; the uniformed force in New York City alone in 1807 equaled in size the entire regular army. He barely mentions the extensive discussions which began in 1783 and culminated in the credulous Militia Act of 1792. None of General John McAuley Palmer's writings on our early plans for national defense has been used or even listed in the bibliography. More remarkable yet, the "classic" history of our military establishment, Emory Upton's *Military Policy of the United States*, is also missing. Although Upton's views on the militia are open to question, it is hard to see how they can be ignored in a discussion of 1783-1812, the years that saw hammered out the pattern of the army we were to have for the next century.

The volume is not designed as a book of reference as much as for general reading. The treatment is chronological rather than topical, and neither organization nor index is of much assistance in locating material on, say, the procurement of men or their discipline. The volume is not a study of the army as an institution as much as it is an excellent account of its campaigns and the life of its soldiers. It is the antithesis of such works as Fred Albert Shannon's *The Organization and Administration of the Union Army, 1861-1865*. There is a good section on the new Military Academy but, until one reaches the Jeffersonian era, there is very little on the over-all plans for the army. The emphasis everywhere is on the soldier in the field. This is right enough but it has led to the omission of several outstanding army activities, notably the sizable program for coastal fortifications begun in 1794.

The narrative is marred by minor inaccuracies whenever the author ventures out of his immediate period. On page 6, for example, we read of the "18th Irish Infantry." A glance at any history of the British Army would have shown the correct designation to be "18th Royal Irish Regiment of Foot." On page 7, the "dominant colors" of the Continental uniform were not "blue and buff" but, if anything, blue and red; the Tories rarely wore "red and white," but usually green uniforms; and the "high stiff collar" was a device unknown to the soldiers of the American Revolution. The statement, a few lines further along, that our "chief infantry weapon was also of British make and design . . . commonly known as 'Brown Bess,'" is equally inaccurate. The Continental Army was armed almost exclusively with the French military musket, called the "Charleville," a quite different sort of weapon.

Here and there the author displays a lack of familiarity with general military history. In speaking of the Legion organized by General Wayne (pp. 130-40), he attributes the choice of the name to Knox's love of the classics without making clear that the word described a specific system of military organization of the period that combined foot, horse, and guns in a unit of regimental size. European armies had been experimenting with legions for some while, and they had strong advocates, of whom Wayne was one. He simply used the correct term for the kind of organization he inaugurated, as we would use the term "combat team" today. There is almost no discussion of this principle of the permanent mixed force, why it was adopted and later abandoned, how it fared in frontier fighting.

The author announces that this is the first of a series that will bring the history of the army to 1846. Students of American history will look forward to the successive volumes, but I suspect they will hope that Colonel Jacobs will handle the larger armies of the later Republic with a broader and more topical treatment than he has the few thousand men of the early period. I could also wish for a few more maps.

Historical Division, Department of the Army

FREDERICK P. TODD

FORGOTTEN FIRST CITIZEN: JOHN BIGELOW. By *Margaret Clapp*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1947. Pp. x, 390. \$4.00.)

ONE of the many phases of the complex history of American political behavior which need further study is the vital political cult of public service perfectionists whose members have striven so effectively to prove the workability of the American experiment. This cult has seemed to flourish most vigorously in several centers. Its activities in New England and the Middle West have received more historical attention perhaps than they have elsewhere. New York City has been an important culture center for this type of dynamic enthusiasm, but like so much connected with the Middle States area this phase of the city's significance has received less attention than it merits. The Columbia doctoral dissertation under review is a contribution to the study of this cult.

In the 1830's John Bigelow, fresh from Union College, left a comfortable Hudson Valley home to establish himself as a lawyer in New York City. Here it was his good fortune to come into the orbit of a circle of literary enthusiasts who shared interests in journalism and Jacksonian politics. It was a ten-year transition from the bar to a partnership with William Cullen Bryant in editing the New York *Evening Post*. Bigelow had meantime become politician, reformer, and crusading journalist with ambitions in serious literature. Miss Clapp has given us needed light on the New York City politico-cultural generating plant in which Bigelow's interests were formed.

It was only a step further on for Bigelow to become one of the fathers of the new Republican party and as a political journalist he was quite naturally in line for preferment when Lincoln came into office. Seward chose him to go to Paris

as consul, but his task was not so much commercial agent as it was propaganda director. French public opinion under Napoleonic guidance was not friendly to the United States. His experience as consul, chargé, and finally minister from 1861 to 1867 is the most significant section of the book. Excellent as these pages are, one could wish for more complete presentation of a significant factor. Bigelow and William L. Dayton, minister to France during most of the war, were not compatible. This difficulty needs clarification, and justice to Dayton might prescribe some comment on his side of the story. He probably had his opinion of Bigelow, which may have survived. Bigelow was undoubtedly a high-minded man and an altogether estimable citizen, but such a one can be very trying as an associate.

Upon his return to the United States, Bigelow soon went back to the Democratic party and did yeoman service to make his friend Tilden President; failing in that he became his executor and biographer. He kept active in various literary and cultural pursuits until he died at the age of ninety-four, constantly interested in all sorts of public causes, most notable the organization of the great New York Public Library. One of the public matters in which he dabbled was Bunau-Varilla's campaign for the Panama Canal, and he leaves evidence which seems to substantiate the idea that Roosevelt and Hay knew more about the exact steps in the Panama Revolution than it was later deemed expedient to acknowledge.

Mr. Bigelow did much for Miss Clapp. He left her a diary extending with a few gaps from 1843 to 1911. He wrote five volumes of *Retrospections* and he preserved voluminous files. She in her turn has reciprocated. She has written for him a gracefully turned and interestingly narrated biography. She has found the secret of his motivation in his Swedenborgian religion and in his Manchester liberalism. She has grasped the fact of his relation to the times of his youth and she has been keen enough to note how he failed to keep up intellectually with the increasingly complex problems of the late nineteenth and earlier twentieth century. How vigorously she has struggled to escape from the terrible weight and overwhelming influence of the prodigious and carefully made up record which was her great boon, it is impossible for a reviewer to tell. One may suspect that there was more idiosyncrasy and less urbanity in Bigelow than his biographer portrays.

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS

THERE WAS ONCE A SLAVE: THE HEROIC STORY OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS. By *Shirley Graham*. (New York: Julian Messner. 1947. Pp. 310. \$3.00.)

FREDERICK Douglass is an excellent selection for a biography submitted in a literary contest for combating intolerance in the United States. Born a slave on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, he escaped to Massachusetts and became a foremost lecturer for the abolitionists both at home and abroad. He was, indeed, one of the

ablest orators in American history. His newspaper, *The North Star*, which he published for seventeen years, wielded an influence not far short of that of the *Liberator* and is still a valuable source for the student of history. Douglass won, against great odds, the right of Negro troops to fight in the American Civil War. More than any one man, in the reviewer's opinion, he is responsible for the fact that Negro troops today wear the same uniform and receive the same pay as do other American soldiers.

For thirty years after the Civil War Douglass continued the fight to win equality for the freedmen. He helped greatly to win the suffrage for them; he fought Jim Crow laws and practices; he insisted upon social as well as political equality. Douglass also held some of the highest positions attained by colored men in the United States—member of the council, marshal and recorder of deeds of the District of Columbia; secretary to the 1871 mission to the Dominican Republic; minister to Haiti and consul general to the Dominican Republic. He refused consistently to run for political office. His death occurred on the day that he addressed a woman-suffrage convention, a cause to which he had devoted himself since before the Civil War. Douglass' two greatest weaknesses were his failure to appreciate the significance of organized labor and, in the reviewer's opinion, his tardy realization that the Republican party was not the savior of mankind.

Miss Graham's book, which won the publisher's award, has adhered closely to the generally accepted facts of Douglass' life. Most of the narrative is based upon Douglass' writings and the standard books about him. The author's style, naturally, is more sparkling than that usually found in historical monographs. But while Miss Graham has dramatized Douglass, she has not distorted him. She has generally projected him against the essential background. The historian, however, would have liked to see more space devoted to such topics as the controversy between the abolitionists and the colonizationists, Douglass' connection with the Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company, his views on Negro migration from the South, and, generally, to the post-Civil War period.

The abolition of slavery was probably the greatest blow to intolerance in the United States. Douglass stands in the foremost ranks of those who struck the blow. But his role has not been sufficiently recognized by American historians, the government, and the people. No historian of the first rank has deemed him worthy of a biography. He is being left at the present time, so far as the reviewer knows, to one historian who is a strict Marxist and to another who is of Douglass' race. Only one statue of any importance, that in Rochester, has been erected to his memory. Booker T. Washington is in the Hall of Fame; his *Up from Slavery* has been translated into many languages; a memorial coin was recently issued for him as was a stamp in honor of George Washington Carver. Perhaps Miss Graham's book will help to remind the American people that the Negro who contributed most to removing the greatest blight from American democracy and who filled honorably and ably some of the highest appointed positions likewise deserves

recognition in the continued struggle for democracy. Until then the student of history is likely to conclude that too many Americans are not willing to accept the type of leadership that Douglass gave to the fight against intolerance.

Howard University

RAYFORD W. LOGAN

HORACE GREELEY AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, 1853-1861: A STUDY OF THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE. By *Jeter Allen Isely*. [Princeton Studies in History, Volume III.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1947. Pp. xiii, 368. \$4.50.)

ONE of the most vivid figures of an age of strongly defined personalities, Horace Greeley has long been remembered for his qualities as an individual—his trenchant style, his headlong impulsiveness, his crusading nature, his eccentricity of dress and chirography—rather than for his impact upon the course of American history. Most of the treatments of this great journalist, such as those by Don C. Seitz and Henry L. Stoddard have themselves fallen into a journalistic tradition, employing excellent narrative but offering little analysis of Greeley's significance. For this reason, it is especially satisfying to find, in Jeter A. Isely's *Horace Greeley and the Republican Party, 1853-1861*, a study concerned primarily with that part of Greeley's career which was most important in the political history of the nation, namely, his fostering of the strength and shaping of the policy of the Republican party during its formative years.

Although providing an excellent array of factual data, Mr. Isely's account rarely ventures to undertake the general interpretation which would be warranted by its own comprehensive basis. The reader, therefore, must needs seek his own conclusions, which are not always easy to formulate since the interplay of action between Greeley and other Republican leaders is not fully developed. Certain salient points, however, emerge very strongly. Thus, there can be no doubt that Greeley worked constantly and effectively to broaden the base of the Republican party. His was an instrumental part in bringing the Know-Nothings into the Republican ranks. (Much of this was done by manipulations in the contest for the speakership in 1855-56, which Mr. Isely does not sufficiently explore.) Later, he did a great deal to assimilate the antislavery Democrats to the party. By publicizing Hinton R. Helper, he even hoped to win the Southern nonslaveholders. Finally, in 1860, he worked earnestly for a broad party platform advocating tariff, homestead act, and internal improvements, thus making the Republican party more than an antislavery organization.

There can be no doubt, furthermore, that Greeley prevented the nomination of Seward in 1860, thus causing what he did not intend: the nomination of Lincoln as the Republican candidate. Nor can there be much question that by his artful commendation of Stephen A. Douglas he promoted the split in the Democratic organization.

Yet with all these points fully demonstrated, Greeley's role remains very difficult to evaluate. One imponderable lies in the question—constant at almost every point—as to when Greeley's actions were motivated by public policy and ideals, when by personal ambition and spite (“... the student can never separate clearly the editor's personal pretensions from his public utterances”). Another problem concerns the extent to which he actually shaped concrete party decisions. Certainly he had a large share in drafting the platform in 1860, but he did not advocate the nomination of Frémont in '56 or of Lincoln in '60, or (to go beyond Mr. Isely's limits) of Lincoln in '64, nor did he ever have appreciable influence with Lincoln's administration. The truth is, party chiefs and even antislavery spokesmen distrusted him. Hamilton Fish said, “with all his ability he has a crack across his brain that amounts to little short of derangement & will destroy anything which he may be allowed to head.” Theodore Parker wrote, “Greeley is not fit for a leader. He is capricious, crochety, full of whims, and as wrong-headed as a pig.” Even when Greeley received a caning from Congressman Rust of Arkansas, antislavery leaders showed no disposition to make a martyr of him, Sumner-fashion. For all his idealism, he was distinctly unscrupulous, exploiting his supposed friendship with Seward to prevent Seward's nomination, knowingly distorting the news (see pp. 177, 233, 236, 247), and “fattening” Douglas in order to kill him politically.

One thing he did, and did above all others. He made slavery the paramount issue of the new party; he surrounded this issue with attractive supporting issues; and he furnished the party with a newspaper audience unrivaled in the free states. Essentially, he was an agitator, one who could chart a moderate course but could never hold it. (“Greeley roared and raged—daily, weekly, and semi-weekly.”) Along with Rhett and Ruffin, he deserves to rank as one of those who brought sectional bitterness to a Civil War fruition which they perhaps did not intend. Not a leader but rather a recruiting sergeant of the Republican party, Greeley exercised power which, as Mr. Isely well observes, “was of influence, not of direction.” Yet, as a power of influence, it was enormous.

Few figures in the history of American sectionalism have needed study so acutely as has Greeley. Mr. Isely's treatment fills this gap effectively and is a valuable contribution. The Princeton University Press has provided an unusually good format.

Queen's College, Oxford University

DAVID M. POTTER

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE'S AMERICA. By *Walter Johnson*. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1947. Pp. 621. \$5.00.)

DURING a half-century when it seemed as if every bright lad from farm and village flocked to the city's bright lights, William Allen White made news by staying at home. From the grass roots his career drew its meaning, and his role

as a middle-class folk hero its strength. Where his natural predilections left off and his innocent pose began—in affecting patched pants and a rambling rig drawn by Old Tom, far into the heyday of both Bill White and the automobile—not even old friends like Harry Kemp or his penetrating biographer Walter Johnson dare to guess. The line was probably invisible even to White himself. For all his devotion to Kansas, with the passing years he spent less and less time in his native Emporia. Summers drew him to the Rockies or occasionally overseas, winters to the arid Southwest or to Washington and New York, where he served as a judge of the Book-of-the-Month Club, trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation, friend of literary men, politicians, and Presidents. He loved the homely, relaxed, neighborly life of a midwestern town, making both its idiom and point of view his own, until he came to fill a place alongside Will Rogers as spokesman for the kindness, humor, and horse-sense which legendarily lie mostly in the hinterland. But White also loved the bustle of important places and events—even the metropolis, whose fast living and hard drinking left him (in words he applied to Coolidge) a Puritan in Babylon. Nor did he ever make a secret of his naïve vanity or his love for the medium in which he worked, publicity.

With scant political ambitions himself, White did aspire to be the confidant and adviser of Presidents. His early worship of Theodore Roosevelt, which his boyish temperament never outgrew, led to a friendship that gave him a taste of White House hospitality. But save for two mild insurgencies—his Bull Moose phase, and his independent race for governor against the Klan in 1924—White had a party loyalty almost as tenacious as a ward heeler's. Again and again, as Mr. Johnson interprets him, White gave up to party what was meant for mankind. Thus in 1920 before Harding's nomination, White applied editorially such adjectives as "stupid" and "crooked," yet promptly upon his nomination three months later the editor assured his readers that "Harding is a clean, honest man . . . Harding and Coolidge look good to me." In election years the straight ticket habitually looked good to him, but in the intervals between he was apt to be an unsparing critic of Republican conservatism and a friend to Democratic liberalism. Franklin D. Roosevelt fairly remarked that Bill White was with him three and a half years out of four.

Mr. Johnson explains this paradox on several grounds. When young White was growing up in bleeding Kansas, the Democratic label was still a little attainted, while idealistic Republicanism (like that of his mother) looked back devoutly to Lincoln. Having made his choice, White saw that political power—as needed explicitly for local Kansas reforms—could be wielded only through the regular machine. Criticism from this vantage point was also more effective; White liked to say that he could break more windows from the inside. These considerations, added to his own good-fellowship which almost invariably put loyalty to persons ahead of loyalty to programs, usually diverted this maverick of the Kansas plains (who kept just a little ahead of the herd, but anxiously looking back) into

a periodic Republican stampede. When placed in a situation well outside the entanglements of local politics he showed both tact and bravery, as in his work in 1930 with the Haitian Commission which Mr. Johnson describes with a wealth of fresh detail. The early months of his fight for aid to the Allies in the Second World War, as here told, also make a fine story, though trailing somewhat into anticlimax as he grew ill and tired and worried when he fancied himself too far ahead of public opinion. In the face of manifest demagogues in his own bailiwick—the Klan, Dr. Brinkley, Gerald Winrod—he was also apt to be at his fighting best.

White's roguish humor, salty phrases, and irresistible personal charm are well illustrated in his *Autobiography* published last year and in the *Selected Letters* edited by the present biographer. Mr. Johnson's latest book is more penetrating and critical, reaching analyses and appraisals absent from these previous volumes, and since the *Autobiography* virtually closed in the early 1920's, is particularly welcome for tracing the important activities of the editor's last twenty years. Mr. Johnson writes with vigor and skill, shrewdly commenting upon men and events interwoven with his narrative, from the point of view of a more consistent liberal than White himself ever was. Interviews with the subject during the last few years of his life, and the William Allen White papers now in the Library of Congress, furnish the backbone of this able biography. Evidences of haste, careless proof-reading, and cavalier index-making are, however, in evidence. Names like those of Frank Simonds and John F. Neylan are misspelled; in December, 1918, White and son were sailing from and not for New York, as stated on page 294; and on page 473 we are told that although Harding and his Ohio gang were unsavory, yet his successor "let into power men far more dangerous to American democracy" such as the Mellons, who "sat at Coolidge's council table." Needless to say, Harding must take the primary responsibility for Andrew Mellon.

Huntington Library

DIXON WECTER

CONGRESS AT THE CROSSROADS. By *George B. Galloway*. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1946. Pp. ix, 374. \$3.50.)

THERE are difficulties in making a satisfactory analysis of Congress, for one is at once confronted with the classical theory of the separation of powers and the amazing and often conflicting number of theories under which Congress exercises or fails to exercise power. The question, for instance, of whether Congress or the President should be responsible for this or that action has such political ramifications that any analysis of Congress is hedged about with questions of policy. The sphere of congressional activity and interest is at times so broad, and again so narrow, that one is hard put to differentiate clearly between what Congress thinks it should do, what it thinks it does do, and what it actually does or perhaps should do.

Dr. Galloway recognizes many of the difficulties of analyzing Congress, and,

while not attempting to present a completely rationalized theory of congressional behavior, nevertheless increases our knowledge of the American political system in his discussion of and emphasis on the significance of the internal organization of Congress. The internal organization of Congress is a phase of behavior of such complexity that its operation is little understood by other than the professional expert, and that for reasons of operation and manipulation rather than description and analysis. The organization of Congress, nevertheless, is a signally important determinant in the distribution of congressional power and perquisites and in the consideration of political questions.

An analysis of the organization of Congress, and the effect of this organization on Congress' fulfilling its functions adequately, leads Dr. Galloway to make a number of suggestions for reform. Some of these proposals have already been enacted into law in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. The book, however, despite its title and despite its emphasis on reform, is no mere handbook of reform proposals which might seem "to be a good idea." The crossroads which face Congress are, in part, the need for its immediate reorganization, but more than that they are the continual problems of legislative survival, of preventing the domination of this or that group, and of directing and determining public policy. Dr. Galloway's prescription is, in short, that the best organized thought on political and economic questions should be available to Congress and that Congress should be so organized that use can be made of this information.

The prescription is, of course, limited, and it does not answer such other questions as the effect of these proposals on the relationship between Congress and the presidential bureaucracy or even of the effect of reorganization upon the enactment of "wise" law. But limited as the prescription may be, the merit of the argument is that it goes a long way. One could document endlessly the incidents where congressional time is ill-spent, and Dr. Galloway furnishes proof enough that Congress could readily slough off many unnecessary and time-consuming chores. It is recognized, of course, that some congressmen like to be little-men, that they would rather spend their time courting their constituents than thinking about public policy; it is further recognized that congressmen frequently perform important functions in supplying information to constituents and calling to the attention of the bureaucrats or the public the grievances of the constituents. Granting all this, it is not essential, and certainly not desirable, that Congress be so organized that its sights are focused largely on constituent affairs. To paraphrase a statement of Woodrow Wilson about the presidency, Congress should also attempt to be as great an organization as its membership and its organization allow.

The emphasis placed by Dr. Galloway on the reorganization of the committee structure has resulted in a certain lopsided approach which does not give full significance to the deliberations on the floor of the House or the Senate and to the relation between the committees and their parent bodies. The rules of the House, for instance, admirable though they may be for enabling leaders to bring issues to

a vote, are not always administered so that the major policy questions to be decided by Congress are pointed up and discussed. Moreover, the development of integrated, specialized, and well-staffed committees might lessen the efficacy of congressional debate, even of the congressional control over these committees, and would accordingly increase the importance of the problem of committee member selection.

Although the necessity for reorganizing Congress is stressed, the book could stand by itself with the other contents which it contains. There are many informative chapters which describe the functions, the organization, and the composition of Congress. The symposium of material, contemporary and historical, is first-rate, and anyone who wishes to know not only how to reform Congress but also how it actually operates can find here an excellent description of the process of American lawmaking.

Carleton College

ROLAND YOUNG

AMERICAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT: ITS ORGANIZATION AND POLICIES. By *Hajo Holborn*. (Washington: Infantry Journal Press, 1947. Pp. xiii, 243. \$3.50.)

THE impact of a book on the public mind is as much dependent on the receptiveness of public opinion as on its intrinsic merits. Professor Holborn's is a case in point. When it was published, in the spring of 1947, the intelligent newspaper reader, who at first was keenly interested in military government as the presumable instrument for translating our war aims into a lasting peace, had become so befogged by conflicting reports on its achievements and by the *volte-face* of its original policies that the edge of his interest had been blunted. At the present time he has resigned himself to the recognition that military government in Germany and Japan—Austria and Korea do not seem to count because the former is a "liberated" nation, the latter of peripheral importance only—is run by two army generals as proconsuls to whom such wide discretionary powers are delegated that they are conducting their missions without effective supervision by Washington and beyond any democratic control whatever by the people.

Under these conditions it seems regrettable that this valuable book was not available at a time when public opinion had not yet sunk into indifference. Its solid information could have been of considerable help in appraising both the criticism leveled against military government and the latter's understandable efforts to ward it off by the assertion, as the formula goes, that "a mission undertaken under the most difficult circumstances is being as well accomplished as could have been expected."

Professor Holborn was privileged in being closely associated with the high-level planning for military government and with its subsequent development, as a consultant to the Office of Strategic Services since 1942 and in the State Department

after the unconditional surrender. In addition to the opportunities afforded by this vantage point he applies to his assignment the training and understanding of the specialist in diplomatic history. To many the virtue of the book will lie in the emphasis on the reactions of changing political events on the shaping of military government planning and organization. This aspect may help to explain why many of the inherent uncertainties were due to the difficulties of establishing common denominators for the peace policies so semantically and obliquely stated by the partners in the war coalition. The technique of military government finally arrived at, namely, multipartite commissions for setting forth basic policies and leaving their execution to the military commander of the respective zones as applied in Germany, Austria, and Korea (though not in Japan), may seem inevitable in retrospect. Whether it would not have been politically more advantageous to convert this hybrid form into a genuinely condominiumal government which would have opened western Germany to Soviet trade in return for an Anglo-Saxon and French share in eastern Europe may now seem a moot point.

Professor Holborn traces the checkered history of military government planning from the civil affairs division in the War Department and the Combined Civil Affairs Commission (intended for the co-ordination of United States and British policies) to the G-5 sections of the army and the inter-Allied bodies finally established. Separate chapters are devoted to various areas: to Italy, perhaps one of the less successful chapters because it does not clearly establish what military government actually did in Italy; to Germany before and after the surrender; to Austria and the Far East, the latter section somewhat too perfunctory to do justice to the subject in comparison with the European situation. Of particular interest are the discussions of the European Advisory Commission—one of the least known and yet most important stages of the planning because it evolved the pseudo-condominial technique of multipartite co-operation—and of the now famous Directive JCS 1067/6, which until July, 1947, constituted the bible of military government in Germany. Events are included until the end of 1946. A judicious chapter presents the “lessons of the occupation,” and an appendix contains important documentary material some of which is not easily accessible elsewhere.

The general impression the reader gains from the narrative is that the planning of military government was hampered by inadequate and delayed policy decisions on the higher levels; by the requirements of inter-Allied compromise conditioned by a war of coalition intended to become a peace of coalition; and last but not least, by that inherent vice of American governmental structure, namely, overorganization on the one hand and dispersal of responsibility on the other; to overcome this—though they failed—efforts were made time and again by the familiar processes of “integration” and “co-ordination.” And even if one agrees with the author’s statement that “as a matter of fact, many shortcomings of American Military Government—shortcomings for which it has frequently been castigated—were due to the lack of a clear definition of American policies” (p. 105),

it does not fully explain the persistent intramural deficiencies of military government operations in the execution of policies which, at the latest with the Potsdam Declaration, were definite enough with respect to the fundamental four "D's" of demilitarization, denazification, democratization, and decentralization to permit a consistent and unified execution. Seen from inside, military government is far less "monolithic" than its intrinsic principles, the chain of command and military hierarchy, would indicate. But since the author set for himself the goal of describing "planning and organization" only, the functional aspect of military government was probably off limits and might have required less restraint than was dictated by his official position.

The splendid isolation of military government from our democratic processes being what it is, one may be skeptical at this time concerning the projection into the future of the lessons to be drawn from the book. Provided our tutelage (or what is left of it) over Germany and Japan and our participation in inter-Allied control of Austria and Korea will continue as the author seems inclined to believe, it may not be too late for a reformation *in capite et membris* which would include the establishment of a separate department for occupied areas (instead of the present dissipation of authority among War Department and State which makes proconsular independence inevitable) on the pattern of Britain and France; a more rational selection and training of personnel for which *mutatis mutandis* the British and French colonial services constitute precedents; a stricter control of the subordinate offices by the central administration inside military government which would guarantee that a policy is actually executed and not sidestepped; and perhaps a standing committee of Congress in charge of liaison with occupied areas operations. While such reforms would aim at a more effective civilian control of military government, they would not necessarily imply complete "civilianization"; this reviewer at least feels that civilianization in itself would not improve either the routine procedures or the quality of the personnel. It is only fair to say that the unquestionable ability of many army officers could hardly be dispensed with unless their replacements were selected and trained rationally.

Professor Holborn tells an involved story with clarity, though an author even of his skill cannot always succeed in disentangling military government functions from political and diplomatic crosscurrents. The book constitutes a solid foundation for more specialized studies of military government in action which will have to continue where, following the limitations of his assignment, Professor Holborn left off. As an over-all treatment of planning and organizational phases the book is definitely an addition to our information concerning American military government.

Amherst College

KARL LOEWENSTEIN

AMERICAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN GERMANY. By *Harold Zink*.
(New York: Macmillan Company. 1947. Pp. 272. \$4.00.)

ONE of the more pressing problems facing postwar Americans is that of the military government of Germany. Professor Zink's timely account of the evolution and growth of military government should furnish background for an intelligent understanding of current military government policies and problems in Germany.

In twenty-one well-written chapters Professor Zink carries the history of American military government from the preliminary preparations and training in camps and schools in this country to the entrance of the United States Control Group into Berlin. Included in this span are the various phases of staff organization, some of the perplexing personnel problems together with resulting effects of conflicting United States policies in Germany. The author also gives considerable attention to the programs of denazification, education, and economics.

In conclusion, Professor Zink takes the government to task for its apparently slipshod method of handling the military government of Germany and the American public for its obvious indifference toward our program. Finally, he lists four essentials of a successful program in Germany: (1) a program in Germany of at least ten years' duration, (2) a civil agency to be set up to conduct American reconstruction efforts in Germany, (3) a trained staff on civil service basis, backed by sufficient funds to man the agency, and (4) co-operative effort toward the unification of Germany on the part of the four Allied nations.

Like so many army specialists, Professor Zink seems to allow his enthusiasm for his work to dim his view of the "big picture." Among other things, he complains about the rigorous physical training program required of military government personnel, even though many of them were assigned to combat units and were required to endure the same hardships as infantrymen. Admittedly, military government received far too little attention in its earlier stages, but it must be remembered that our leaders were primarily concerned with winning the war.

Without doubt, this book represents one of the most comprehensive works on the subject to date.

Scarsdale, New York

O. STANLEY STONESIFER, JR.

BARTOLOMÉ MITRE: A POET IN ACTION. By *Myra Cadwalader Hole*.
(New York: Hispanic Institute in the United States. 1947. Pp. 206.)

STARTING from the definition that "a poet is a heart in unison with his time and his country," the author of this book notes that "Mitre played an essential role in the transformation of his country from conditions of anarchy, and of feudalism, to a state of unity and progress." Her book "attempts to present Mitre's life as a whole after treating each important aspect of it. The comparison of his life and books with those of his contemporaries, constitutes a narrative of Argentine history and literature in the Nineteenth Century." Whether or not readers

will be willing to accept the basic assumption of her definition of a poet, there seems to be no question that the author has set herself too great a task to be handled adequately within the compass of her book.

The work is divided into three sections and an appendix. Entitled "Prologue to Power," the first section (pp. 3-25) relates Mitre's early life in Argentina, in Uruguay, and in the years of exile on the West Coast. The second section (pp. 29-113) contains eight chapters on Mitre's role as a "Maker of History." The final section, "Man of Letters" (pp. 117-91), treats of Mitre's historical writing, his views on Spanish American literature and on the practical value of poetry, his original verse, and his translations of Dante and Horace. This section concludes with a chapter entitled "Retrospect and Prophecy." The appendix (pp. 195-206) gives a chronological outline of Argentine history "for reference in reading this book," a bibliography, and an index.

Unfortunately this biography of a "Maker of History" has been written by one of obviously nonhistorical training. As a result, blithe historical generalities and a lack of specific documentation for many a controversial point prove a very real weakness in a book which, in its consideration of Mitre as a man of letters, makes a useful contribution to critical literature. Historical material is handled in a strikingly casual manner and with an oversimplification which results in a totally inadequate relation of the course of historical events; there are individual statements of highly questionable accuracy.

Whether or not the author ever proves her right to a belief that "Mitre, steering the Argentine craft through dangerous waters, earned the right to his own phrase, 'A poet in action,' " is a moot question. But she does introduce the general reader to a long-needed, popularly written account, in the English language, of the life of a great American, and in the pages devoted to Mitre's literary work she makes her contribution to the field of literary criticism.

Los Angeles, California

MADALINE W. NICHOLS

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL WRITINGS PUBLISHED IN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE EMPIRE, 1940-1945. By *Louis B. Frewer*, Superintendent of Rhodes House Library, Oxford. (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1947, pp. xx, 346, 45s.) This is an exceedingly useful check list. It covers the entries that would ordinarily have appeared as the British contribution to the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences*, which has not appeared since 1938. Mr. Frewer and the publisher have placed historical students in their debt by filling this gap as far as Great Britain and the Empire is concerned.

STUDIES AND ESSAYS IN THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE AND LEARNING OFFERED IN HOMAGE TO GEORGE SARTON ON THE OCCASION OF HIS SIXTIETH BIRTHDAY 31 AUGUST 1944. Edited by *M. F. Ashley Montagu*. (New York, Henry Schuman, 1947, pp. xiv, 597, \$12.00.) On August 31, 1944, George Sarton, professor of the history of science at Harvard University, attained his sixtieth birthday and on that day a group of his friends, students, and admirers honored him with the gift of a volume of studies on the history of science and learning. This homage is richly deserved, and only the war prevented this magnificently printed and beautifully illustrated book from appearing in a multivolumed format authored by many more contributors. It is of course impossible in small compass to do more than describe some of the studies and essays skillfully edited by M. F. Ashley Montagu, who is also one of the contributors, with some "Suggestions for the Better Correlation of Literature and Science." Charles Singer of England provides us with "A Word on the Philosophic Background of Vesalius"; Bern Dibner, an engineer, discusses in masterly fashion "Leonardo da Vinci: Military Engineer"; Professor F. J. Cole presents the views of "Dr. William Croone on Generation," while Richard H. Shryock takes up "The Strange Case of Wells's Theory of Natural Selection (1813): Some Comments on the Dissemination of Scientific Ideas." Ann Arber discusses some aspects of "Analogy in the History of Science," and Giorgio de Santillana has an essay on "Positivism and the Technocratic Ideal in the XIXth Century." Grant McColley writes on "Humanism and the History of Language," and James R. Ware on "Grammar, Chinese." Finally, one of the most interesting essays is by Robert K. Merton on "The Role of the Intellectual in Public Bureaucracy." There are in all twenty-eight contributions, reflecting the wide-ranging scholarship and expansive intellectual curiosity of the man they were designed to honor. Modest, almost retiring, but with boundless energy and unflinching industry, George Sarton has labored for more than a quarter of a century to establish the history of science as an independent discipline. This volume demonstrates that his labors have not been in vain and that many disciples have kindled their own scholarly lamps at his ever-burning flame.

MORRIS C. LEIKIN

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN MEDICINE: AN INTERPRETATION OF THE SOCIAL AND SCIENTIFIC FACTORS INVOLVED. By *Richard Harrison Shryock*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1947, pp. xv, 457, xv, \$5.00.) This book was first issued in 1936 by the University of Pennsylvania Press. The edition was small and soon exhausted, for the volume was recognized as an authoritative interpretation

of both the scientific and the social factors that have been of importance in the development of modern medicine. Professor Shryock, a competent general historian, is recognized by the medical profession as the leading authority on the form of medicine now practiced in the United States. The new printing of the earlier work is therefore welcome, particularly as he has thoughtfully revised the material used in the first edition, enlarged a considerable portion of it and brought it up to date. The book thus becomes a basic treatise on the subject, sound in its approach and scholarly in its interpretation. Of the added chapters, the most important are those dealing with psychiatry and the impact of the Freudian concept on the development of our knowledge of mental disease and the discussion of the controversial subject of socialized medicine, particularly in the light of the attitude of the American Medical Association. The pending bills for federal legislation of compulsory health insurance are discussed with great clarity of thought, the author carefully avoiding aligning himself with any specific proposal. Fully annotated and with a good index, this finely printed volume is a credit to both the author and the publisher. HENRY R. VIETS, M.D.

DOUGLAS OF THE FIR: A BIOGRAPHY OF DAVID DOUGLAS, BOTANIST.

By *Athelstan George Harvey*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1947, pp. x, 290, \$4.00.) The brilliant career of this young Scotch naturalist was ended by a horrible death in Hawaii in 1834 at the age of thirty-five, but no man has a nobler monument than the majestic fir tree, named for Douglas and first seen by him on the banks of the Columbia River in 1825. To his credit also are some two hundred other botanical discoveries, a number of which bear his name. The Pacific Northwest was the scene of most, but by no means all, of his expeditions and discoveries. To the eastern United States and upper Canada he devoted four months of travel, chiefly to seek new fruit trees, for earlier botanists like Michaux, Pursh, and Nutt all had botanized the Atlantic seaboard and published the results of their labors. Douglas' real contributions were made in the Pacific Northwest and in Hawaii in the face of great difficulties and dangers. Mr. Harvey has reconstructed the whole story from all available sources and presents it clearly and interestingly. The volume should not be overlooked by historians of the areas visited by Douglas. G.S.F.

PAGEANT OF EUROPE: SOURCES AND SELECTIONS FROM THE RENAISSANCE TO THE PRESENT DAY. By *Raymond Phineas Stearns*, Department of History in the University of Illinois. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1947, pp. xxix, 1032, \$5.00.)

HISTOIRE DE L'ESPAGNE. Par *Pierre Vilar*, Agrégé de l'Université. ["Que sais-je?" 275.] (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1947, pp. 136.)

THE SPIRIT OF CATALONIA. By *J. Trueta*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1946, pp. 198, \$2.50.) The attempt of Trueta to imprison in words the spirit of Catalonia is disappointing. It is clearly a labor of love, well planned and filled with worthwhile material. But irrelevant facts, wild generalizations, and tortured English constantly get between the reader and the message. The inclusion of informative biographical accounts, for example, is one of the chief merits of the book. One may possibly defend the propriety of placing Vives, born in Valencia, on this Catalan roll of honor. But Trueta must be challenged when he adds to the list, "a brilliant Spanish scholar, Castelar, of Catalan descent on his mother's side," and when he writes, "Those two men, Menendez Pelayo and Giner de los Rios, introduced ideas from Catalonia to Castile." The book is liberally sprinkled with sentences which surprise and annoy. Thus the Catalan confederation of the fourteenth century is held to be "the only

precedent of the British Commonwealth." Again "the maritime powers of the Catalans continued to grow until they became the leading sea power of the Western World, a position which they held from the middle of the thirteenth century to the end of the fifteenth." We are told that the Peace (of the church) and the Truce (of God), "for the first time established by the Church in Catalonia . . . in 1041 . . . was afterwards also accepted by the majority of the western nations." Many of Trueta's sentences are so involved that three readings fail to clarify them. They should have been pruned, as well as the statement that three towns of southern France "were the focus from which light was shed . . ." The subject is an excellent one, the research is more than adequate in amount and quality. The result, however, reflects no credit upon the men who encouraged the author, nor the publisher who accepted it.

J. J. VAN NOSTRAND

A DICTIONARY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. By *A. M. Hyamson*. (Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1947, pp. 353, \$3.75.) WHITE'S POLITICAL DICTIONARY. By *Wilbur W. White*, Professor of Political Science and Dean, Graduate School, Western Reserve University. (Cleveland, World Publishing Company, 1947, pp. 378, \$3.50.) Though somewhat similar in purport, these two useful reference books are markedly different in content and treatment. The Hyamson volume, a photo-offset reprint of the British edition of 1946, is less a dictionary in form than an alphabetical collection of condensed survey articles. Its character may perhaps be suggested by listing the first half-dozen entries: Aaland Islands; Abyssinia; Abyssinian Pact; A.B.C. Nations; Aden; and Afghanistan. Altogether they occupy five pages, each entry giving a swift summary of the essential historical, geographical, political, and economic facts involved. The organization of material throughout is primarily on geographical lines, with a large proportion of entries also on important events, institutions, and natural resources in world politics. This kind of book is not the best for quick reference to less-important facts, but nevertheless is exceptionally successful in what it attempts to do. It suffers, unfortunately, in that its entries do not extend beyond March, 1946, a distinct handicap in these fast-moving times to a work composed in considerable part of chronological surveys. No errors have been caught by this reviewer in either of the publications in question. White's volume is more truly a dictionary. The same device indicates its emphasis on concise definitions of words, phrases, and political institutions, particularly those applicable to the American scene. The first half-dozen entries occupy less than half a page; they are: A.A.A.; abate; ABC Powers; abdicare; ability theory; and abolitionist. Published in August, 1947, this work is up-to-date enough to include references to the Truman Doctrine (but not the Marshall Plan), the ADA, and the PCA. Its longest entry, one and a half pages, is devoted to World War II; it has no entry for India. Conversely and perhaps typically, Hyamson has no entry for World War II but devotes fourteen and a half pages—the longest article in the book—to India.

THOMAS K. FORD

AREA STUDIES: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. By *Robert B. Hall*, University of Michigan. (New York, Social Science Research Council, 1947, pp. 90, \$1.00.)

THE INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM OF GOVERNING MANKIND. By *Philip C. Jessup*, Columbia University. Foreword by George C. S. Benson. (Claremont, Calif., Claremont College, 1947, pp. ix, 63, \$2.50.)

IMMUNITIES AND PRIVILEGES OF INTERNATIONAL OFFICIALS: THE EXPERIENCE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. By *Martin Hill*. (Washington, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1947, pp. xiv, 281, \$2.50.)

THE CULTURAL APPROACH: ANOTHER WAY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. By *Ruth Emily McMurry* and *Muna Lee*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1947, pp. xi, 280, \$3.50.) This book serves a practical purpose. It provides a summary of the official information about bilateral long-range programs of cultural relations as carried on by some ten countries, France, Germany, Japan, USSR, Great Britain, four republics of Latin America, and the United States. It does not evaluate the character and effectiveness of these programs but offers the official judgment of each country on its work. The authors, with long experience in the field of cultural relations both in the government and in private capacities, know more about the subject than anyone else in this country and can be trusted as careful, thorough guides. Since to the reviewer's knowledge no comparable survey has been written in any of the Western countries, the volume should prove to be basic for more countries than our own and should exert an international influence at a crucial point in history. Every country is sponsoring and supporting financially some kind of official cultural relations; but the *forms, scope and magnitude of the official programs*, the relation to official foreign policy, the relation of the official work to that of private organizations concerned with bilateral cultural contacts, the responsibility of bilateral relations in comparison with that of UNESCO—these problems remain in most countries in a state of discussion. The present book should greatly assist in clarifying the answer to these questions of policy and administrative organization by supplying for the first time a factual comparative basis for long-range decisions. As the authors say, all countries, especially those trying to recover from the Nazi blackout, are passionately eager for information, not propaganda, about the rest of the world in all fields of human activity. The United States is unquestionably the country about which the desire for knowledge is greatest. If the public will draw the necessary lessons from this book and press a hesitant and reluctant Congress to favorable action, the democratic culture of the United States (let us not quarrel over definitions) can, in the reviewer's opinion, exert an influence on other countries to an extent unique in the history of civilization. Students of history should find this book useful in at least two fundamental ways: first, they are notified that a new period of cultural relations among nations is well under way and that the planned official character of many of these relations renders them significant not merely in intellectual history but in economic and political affairs; second, they are given the opportunity to study in action modern methods of cultural relations. They can thereby check on the meaningfulness of their criteria for judging the character and effectiveness of international cultural relations in similar periods of history.

EUGENE N. ANDERSON

THE WAR: SIXTH YEAR. By *Edgar McInnis*, Associate Professor of History, University of Toronto. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. viii, 344, \$3.00.) With this sixth volume, which covers the period from October, 1944, to September 2, 1945, Professor McInnis concludes the very valuable work which he began in 1939–1940. The present book not only has all the good qualities of the earlier ones, but in addition it has benefited from the author's having had access to certain documents which might have been denied him if the war were still in progress. For instance, he is able to discuss the Yalta conference in the light of the secret agreement which was made with Russia regarding the Far East but which was not published until February, 1946. Incidentally, Professor McInnis apparently is not among those who now feel that the concessions to Stalin were needlessly high. Rather he believes that "at the time of its conclusion the agreement offered advantages which it was impossible to overestimate." It has benefited, also, from the fact that the author had access to final official reports by Eisenhower, Marshall, and others, and was not forced, as in earlier volumes, to depend primarily for his facts on the daily communiqués from the

different areas. Considering the six volumes as a whole, it appears that each, at the time it was first published, was noteworthy and valuable because it presented for the general reader a contemporary outline, analysis, integration, and interpretation of often widely separated and confusing events. That some of the author's interpretations and judgments were later proved to be mistaken by the course of events does not detract particularly from the merit of the work as a whole; for, in the future, Professor McInnis' volumes will be extremely valuable because they reflect an intelligent observer's changing reactions to events as they unfolded throughout the Second World War. These volumes will probably give readers much more of the real atmosphere of the war as it appeared to those living through it than will volumes written entirely from official sources some years hence.

F. LEE BENNS

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Ancient History¹

T. Robert S. Broughton

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¹ Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm

- RECHERCHES SUR L'HOMMAGE EN MARCHE ET LES FRONTIERES FEO-DALES. Par Jean-François Lemaigrier, Chargé de cours à la Faculté de Droit de Lille, Archiviste-Paléographe. [Travaux et Mémoires de l'Université de Lille, Nouvelle Série, Droit et Lettres, XXIV.] (Lille, Bibliothèque universitaire, 1945, pp. xx, 191.)
 This interesting monograph, awarded the second Prix Gobert by the Académie des

Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, concerns an aspect of feudalism largely neglected since Brussel discussed it in 1739. *L'hommage en marche*, says M. Lemarignier, involves a double problem: the nature of the homage and the nature of the march. In brilliant fashion, he describes the formation of two frontiers. The Norman march, formed largely in one piece (911-933), was a fairly precise line, corresponding in general to the limits of the old *pagi* and ecclesiastical divisions. In contrast, the Champagne-Burgundian march was a confused *région-limite*, formed by the thrust and counter-thrust of feudal forces after the dislocation of the *pagi*. Using the available narrative sources, the author describes how the Norman dukes received and rendered homage and made war and peace on their frontiers. He discusses the nature of the homage, beginning with the much debated meeting at Claire-sur-Epte in 911. He agrees with Lot, Dumas, and Prentout, against Flach, that Rollo did homage, but contends that, until the twelfth century when feudal law began to crystallize, such homage was not a real *hommage vassalique*; it was an *hommage de paix*. The reviewer is reminded of Professor Powicke's remark: "Alliance and allegiance were never far apart in the mediaeval world" (*Loss of Normandy*, p. 123). By the end of the twelfth century, great feudatories (notably John when summoned to Paris) were claiming as a privilege the right of appearing and doing homage only in the march. Thirteenth century documents dealing with homage in the Champagne-Burgundian march are largely letters of non-prejudice, reserving the privilege of *hommage en marche*, even while homage is done elsewhere. While confining himself chiefly to instances of *hommage en marche* cited by Brussel, the author, in conclusion, points to the desirability of examining the problem with reference to other frontiers between other great feudatories. "*Enfin, l'hommage de paix, lié ou non à l'hommage en marche, se rencontre-t-il plus communément qu'on ne croit dans les rapports des hauts-vassaux et du roi? Et aussi dans les rapports des hauts-vassaux entre eux, question qui n'a jamais fait l'objet d'une étude d'ensemble?*" (p. 180). It is to be hoped that the author himself will undertake further study of these questions.

ELIZABETH CHAPIN FURBER

OTON DE GRANDSON: SA VIE ET SES POESIES. Par *Arthur Piaget*. [Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société d'Histoire de la Suisse Romande, troisième série, tome I.] (Lausanne, Librairie Payot, 1941, pp. 495, 12 fr.)

UN ALCHEMISTE AU XVI^e SIECLE, OU BATTONAT, LA SEIGNEURIE DE GENEVE ET LE COMTE DE GRUYERE. Par *Henri Naef*. HUMBERT LE BATARD DE SAVOIE. Par *Ernest Cornaz*. [Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société d'Histoire de la Suisse Romande, troisième série, tome II.] (Lausanne, Librairie Payot, 1946, pp. 397, 12 fr.) The first 234 pages of this volume will interest students of intolerance, counterfeiting, alchemy, and legal procedure in the second half of the sixteenth century. Savoy is the locale and George Battonat is in the dock.

LE DOTTRINE POLITICHE DA LUTERO A SUAREZ. By *Giuseppe Santonastaso*. (Milan, Arnoldo Mondadori, 1946, pp. 132, 210 p.) This slender volume is a rather inconclusive general survey of the development of political theory during the hundred years of the Reformation and Counter Reformation. Its treatment is outmoded by its strictly verbal handling of doctrinal issues, without adequate attention to the cultural or class setting of the ideas treated. The author is further handicapped by his reliance throughout upon obsolete secondary works, such as Treumann on the monarchomachs or Gierke on Althusius. Works of decisive importance for his period, such as those of MacIlwain, M. Weber, and Mesnard, to mention only three, have been used quite inadequately, if at all. Altogether, one gets the impression of very sloppy scholarship, even though the numerous errors in spelling, punctuation, and printing are excused

by the publisher as due to the great difficulties of bookmaking in Italy at the moment (1946). But the weak scholarship could be forgiven, if the book had a striking, suggestive thesis. Such, unfortunately, is not the case. Maybe I am doing Santonastaso an injustice, but I can find only trite and familiar themes. One of the really exciting problems of Suarez', the Jesuit's, political theory is to show it as part of the Counter Reformation's attempt to reintegrate a universal culture irretrievably rent asunder by the breakdown of a universal religion as expounded by a universal church, by transferring the moral sanctions of universal validity to a faith-approved, that is to say, church-approved national monarchy (namely, that of Spain). But instead our author remains with the time-honored commonplaces of state and church and the rest.

C. J. FRIEDRICH

Scriptorium is a new journal which will interest many others beside the professional palaeographer. As its subtitle indicates, it is to be an "International Review of Manuscript Studies," edited by F. Masai, librarian of the manuscript section of the Belgian Royal Library. For British assistant editor there is Professor Neil R. Ker of Oxford, and for America Professor Jacob Hammer of New York. Plans are for two issues a year, to form a volume of 360 pages and 48 plates. The first issue is handsomely printed and covers a wide variety of subjects in three languages. Articles appearing in this first number are listed below. Price to American subscribers: a mere twelve dollars.

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE AND COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

Francis H. Herrick

THE CHARACTER OF THE TRIMMER, BEING A SHORT LIFE OF THE FIRST MARQUIS OF HALIFAX. By H. C. Foxcroft. (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1947, pp. 354, \$4.00.) Just fifty years ago Miss Foxcroft published the *Life and Works of the First Marquis of Halifax* in two handsome vol-

umes, a sound and scholarly work which has remained the only, as well as the standard, biography of Lord Halifax. The present book has omitted the works and practically all the references, and has undergone a little condensation in order to produce, as the author says, "a less ponderous biography, which might arouse a wider interest." In a way Miss Foxcroft's book falls between two stools: it is still a scholarly biography, but it will not be as useful to the scholar as the original work; and for the general reader the style rather lacks that lightness of touch, the subject matter is too much politics and too little Halifax as a man for it ever to rank as a popular biography. Halifax's letters make admirable reading and they were at home in the original work: here, where a considerable number are still included in their entirety, they tend rather to hold up the narrative, whereas judicious quotations from them worked into the text, might have given added illumination and charm. Miss Foxcroft says that some of her judgments have been modified, but she still writes, as she did in 1897, in the Whig tradition of Macaulay and Trevelyan; she renders thanks to Mr. de Beer for his assistance, but he has obviously been unable to convince her that Charles II was anything but the villain of the piece, even though, almost every time he is condemned, his superb political astuteness is only too obvious. Yet it is only fair to add that she does not indulge in undiluted eulogy of Halifax, and it is not difficult to realize how much he liked office and how his ability to see both sides of a question made it easier for him to accept policies of which he disapproved. Yet Halifax stands out as a fundamentally honest and very attractive statesman who moved in stirring times that were perhaps a little too violent for his judicious mind, and this shorter version of his biography will probably be even more useful than the earlier one was in providing the student with an excellent and readable, though slightly Whiggish, account of the politics of England during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. The book is admirably produced and there are very few typographical errors: "13 June 1667/8" should be "13 Jan. 1667/8" (p. 25); "State" should read "States," *i.e.*, the Dutch (p. 168); "Airey" ought to be "airy" (p. 203).

E. R. ADAIR

LA VITA, LE OPERE, I TEMPI DI EDOARDO HERBERT DI CHIRBURY. Three volumes. By *Mario M. Rossi*. (Florence, G. C. Sansoni, 1947, pp. 595, 542, 567, L.it 5,000.)

THE OXFORD ALMANACK, 1674-1946. With an Introduction by *Helen M. Petter*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1946, pp. 56, 50 cents.)

RECORDS OF THE BOROUGH OF NOTTINGHAM: BEING A SERIES OF EXTRACTS FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE CORPORATION OF NOTTINGHAM. Volume VII, 1760-1800. Published under the authority of the Corporation of Nottingham. (Nottingham, Thomas Forman and Sons, 1947, pp. xv, 534, 42s.)

EDITORIAL OPINION IN THE CONTEMPORARY BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AND EMPIRE. By *James G. Allen*. [University of Colorado Studies, Series C: Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. I, No. 4.] (Boulder, University of Colorado, 1946, pp. xxii, 297-605, cloth \$2.00, paper \$1.00.) This book of source materials reprints in handy form discussions on four topics in British Commonwealth affairs during the years 1943 and 1944. These are the Smuts-Halifax proposals of 1943-44, the perennial question of some central machinery of government, the Australia-New Zealand agreement of January, 1944, and the new constitution of Jamaica. The material is taken from a considerable variety of newspapers, of differing political views. About two thirds of it is devoted to the Smuts-Halifax speeches and the ensuing controversy. The newspaper quoted most extensively in this section is the *Winnipeg*

Free Press. This is natural, in view of the decided opinions of the *Free Press*, which have been consistent over many years and have greatly influenced the course of Commonwealth history, but it tends to throw the discussion somewhat out of focus. On the other issues, it is newspapers from the southern hemisphere which are drawn on for most of the material. Two criticisms may be made. In the first place, the editor would appear to assume that the term "British" represents a more closely integrated political association than does in fact exist: there are, of course, common problems to be discussed among the nations for which the British crown remains the symbol of relationship, but such questions are becoming more and more marginal as these countries move into the stream of international life: this most of them have already done almost completely. Secondly, since "the purpose was to obtain local opinion as distinct from that of the United Kingdom," no newspapers from Great Britain are quoted. Every editor must naturally be allowed to define his own purpose but in the opinion of the reviewer, the omission is a mistake, for opinion in Great Britain on these matters of Commonwealth relations is now scarcely less "local" than opinion in Canada or Australia. Apart from such points, the book is to be commended: editorials constitute a valuable source in the study of an association which rests, as the British Commonwealth does, on opinion, and it is, moreover, necessary to have them in quantity.

A. R. M. LOWER

LE METIS CANADIEN: SON ROLE DANS L'HISTOIRE DES PROVINCES DE L'OUEST. Par *Marcel Giraud*. [Université de Paris, Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie, XLIV.] (Paris, Institute d'Ethnologie, 1945, pp. lvi, 1296.) M. Giraud has produced in this large volume a truly remarkable work of scholarship on a subject which has hitherto had no adequate authoritative treatment. His purpose is clearly stated in the preface: to outline the development of the half-breed group in the prairie provinces of western Canada from its origins to the present day, to define the role which it has played in the history of the Northwest, and to examine the causes which explain its present social and economic position. The intention to produce both a historical and a sociological study has certainly been most amply fulfilled. While the work is a major contribution to Canadian history it has a significance, and many points of comparative interest, for the continent as a whole. Following two chapters which deal with the geography and native tribes of the West, the author traces in detail the penetration of the region by fur traders, both French and English, and the emergence of a half-breed group which in the first half of the nineteenth century achieved distinctive characteristics and a sense of its identity as a "new nation." At many points the story covers well-known ground—the rivalry of the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies, the insurrections of 1870 and 1885, etc.—but M. Giraud's emphasis differs from that of previous writers, being centered on the half-breed. Concluding chapters deal more briefly with the period after 1885 but make clear the frustrations involved in the half-breed's position in recent years. Throughout the whole of this long work the breadth of the author's research and the judgment with which he has handled his material are abundantly evident.

GEORGE W. BROWN

THE HUMANITIES IN CANADA. By *Watson Kirkconnell* and *A. S. P. Woodhouse*. (Ottawa, Humanities Research Council of Canada, 1947, pp. 287, \$2.00.)

AN INDEX TO AUTHORS OF UNOFFICIAL, PRIVATELY-OWNED MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA, 1812-1920, WITH COPIES, SUMMARIES, AND EXTRACTS OF DOCUMENTS, BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE AUTHORS, A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, AND AN APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS ORIGINATING OUTSIDE AFRICA.

By *Una Long*, Field-worker in Historical Research, Rhodes University College, Grahamstown, South Africa. (Grahamstown, author, 1947, pp. xv, 458, £2. 10s.)

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop

A CONSTITUTION FOR THE FOURTH REPUBLIC. With an Appendix containing Statistics on the Assembly and Elections as well as Texts of the Constitutions with Annotations. [Foundation Pamphlet No. 2.] (Washington, Foundation for Foreign Affairs, 1947, pp. 125.) "This study seeks no more than to describe the process by which the new constitution for the Fourth Republic was written in France, and to point out the basic struggles which were involved. It does not attempt to pass judgment on the efficiency with which this constitution will serve France." The study is to be followed by others of similar purport dealing with constitutions in the other countries of western Europe. It will be a worth-while series if the high standard of this pamphlet on the Fourth Republic is maintained.

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B. H. Wabeke

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

MUSSOLINI: DAL MITO ALLA REALTÀ. By *Gaudens Megaro*. [Uomini E Tempi, no. 1.] (Milano, Istituto Editoriale Italiano, 1947, pp. 395, 600 l.) This is not a literal translation but a revised and considerably enlarged edition of the author's *Mussolini in the Making* (reviewed in *American Historical Review*, XLV [January, 1940], 393-94). It contains much new material. The documentation, particularly quotations from Mussolini's early writings and speeches (which continue to be either inaccessible or extremely difficult of access), is fuller than that in the English edition and appears in its original Italian text; therefore the Italian edition is likely to be of greater usefulness to the scholar than the English edition.

THE NEW ITALY: TRANSITION FROM WAR TO PEACE. By *Muriel Grindrod*. (London and New York, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1947, pp. ix, 118, 5s.) This is an extremely useful survey of political and economic developments in Italy from the "fall" of Fascism in July, 1943, to January, 1947. It brings together, in brief compass, much reliable information on a variety of topics, such as the "forty-five days" following Mussolini's arrest, the setting up of the Fascist Social Republic, the Italian contribution to the war effort against Germany, the characteristics of the leading Italian political parties, the end of the monarchy, the salient features of Italy's economic structure, and the principal provisions of the peace treaty with Italy. Noteworthy is the temperate treatment of controversial issues.

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RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

Sergius Yakobson

ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAY, AMBASSADRESS FROM RUSSIA. By *Isabel de Palencia*. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1947, pp. 309, \$3.50.) This book, written with an affectionate warmth characteristic of its author, is essentially a personal tribute by one vibrant and talented woman, animated by passion for the welfare of humanity, to a comrade in the good fight possessing comparable gifts of mind and spirit. Isabel de Palencia, a distinguished leader among Spanish Republicans, served as her country's minister to Sweden during a period of dire crisis for Spain, when Alexandra Kollontay, who played a dramatic role in the early days of the Russian Revolution, was representing the Soviet government in Stockholm. Between the two women, who shared the distinction, as yet too rare, of being charged with the conduct of diplomatic relations, there was also a kinship of ideas and aspirations. It was not an accident that these two women, each born in her own country to a heritage of wealth and culture (Alexandra Kollontay's father was a tsarist general of liberal views), should have been impelled by comparable social and economic conditions in Spain and Russia to seek political remedies for the ills they could not fail to observe around them.

Madame de Palencia does not attempt to analyze in any detail either the situation in Russia that confronted Alexandra Kollontay, or the world crisis of the 1930's in the midst of which the two diplomats labored in vain to avert the ultimate conflict both anticipated. What Madame de Palencia gives the reader is a convincing intimate portrait of a fine human being who happened to find an outlet for her creative energy in politics and diplomacy. The friendly biographer makes a genuine contribution to international understanding. For she shows why Russians like Alexandra Kollontay, not nurtured in communist doctrines, were moved to take part in revolutionary movements, hoping that revolution, however stormy, would advance the cause of humanity they had deeply at heart.

VERA MICHELES DEAN

CASIMIR PULASKI. By *Wladyslaw Konopczynski*. Translated from Polish by *Irena Makarewicz*. [Annals of the Polish Roman Catholic Union Archives and Museum, Volume XI.] (Chicago, Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, 1947, pp. 62, 50 cents.)

THE SLOVAKS: THEIR HISTORY AND TRADITIONS. By *Peter P. Yurchak*. (Whiting, Indiana, Rev. John J. Lach, 1946, pp. xiv, 288.) Mr. Yurchak has sought to make available in English an account of the historical development and cultural traditions of the Slovak people. He states that his book is not a history in "formal dress" but rather "a series of historical and biographical narratives" (p. vii). The book is useful principally as a reflection of the thinking of Slovak "autonomists" in the period between the two world wars. Though it contains interesting material, *The Slovaks* is lacking in critical insight and should not be treated as a serious scientific work. The author, a practicing attorney in the state of Pennsylvania and prominent in Slovak-American circles, takes a stand on the controversial question of Czech-Slovak relations in support of the program of "self-rule" or "home-rule" formerly advocated in Czechoslovakia by Father Andrej Hlinka's Slovak Peoples' party and in America by the Slovak League. The reader will observe that the struggle for "self-rule" is represented as being synonymous with the struggle for survival, whether against the aggression of the Germans or of the Magyars, or more recently against the "centralism" of the Czechs. An occasional overtone of "separatism" from the Czechs will also be noted. (See, for example, p. 257.) The best chapters are those about Kollar and Hurban. The one about Stefanik is disappointingly weak. A chapter about Masaryk minimizes his Slovak background, while overemphasizing the "German" character of his education (p. 207), and holds him responsible for failing to invoke the "Pittsburgh Pact" of May 30, 1918, which had demanded a fully autonomous position for Slovakia in the new Czechoslovakia. The chapter about Hlinka recounts his "fight for equality," and two concluding chapters discuss Slovakia's position with relation to the USSR and the United States. The bibliography is a list of books without any schematic arrangement whatsoever, with many titles having no relevancy to the subject matter, and with many sources mentioned in the text or cited in the footnotes missing altogether.

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Sidney Glazer

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Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

THE FAR EAST SINCE 1500. By *Paul E. Eckel*, Department of History in the University of Pennsylvania. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1947, pp. xiv, 820, \$5.00.) This attractive volume is divided into two parts: "New Forces in the Ancient East (1500-1900)" in 322 pages, and "Eastern Asia in the Twentieth Century" in 420 pages. The emphasis on recent events is indicated by the fact that 170 pages discuss periods before 1850 and 575 pages the period from 1850 to 1946. A bibliography of 36 pages without comments, careful proofreading and indexing, a dozen maps, selected readings by chapters, and a clear, concise style add to the volume's usefulness. The latter sections of the book seem much superior to the first part. Early chapters suffer from inadequate exposition of Asiatic institutional backgrounds, so that, for example, the Chinese examination system is described in detail but without a description of the Chinese language, the Taiping rebellion is attributed to the impact of Western ideas without reference to land tenure and peasant revolts, and so on. This early section summarizes the Western impact on the Far East without any real analysis of the Far Eastern societies, their institutions, political processes, and indigenous ways of thought. Needless to say, only a superman could do so, in the present state of scholarship, and this fault no doubt reflects the quality of the literature available on early modern Far Eastern history. As the narrative comes to recent decades it becomes increasingly cogent, proper names and terms are better selected, and it loses that air of the Western outsider looking into the curious East, which has clung to most textbooks on Asia. Chapters on modern social and cultural developments in China and Japan present interesting and well-selected information, and the summaries of recent political movements, the war in Asia, and the nationalist revolutions are well balanced and clear-cut. The author is to be congratulated on his coverage and condensation of essential data on developments of the last century and on his success in giving the reader a definite and yet well-based view of most of the many complex problems of the period. While specialists, with their varied counsels of perfection, may feel that the treatment of the preliminary period up to the late nineteenth century is conventional and superficial, I believe they will find the bulk of this text extremely useful as a clear, fresh, informative, and readable basic survey. Among its merits are the relatively extensive treatments of Korea, the Philippines, and the countries of Southeast Asia, and the fact that it brings the narrative down into 1946, with a clear recognition of the revolutionary forces now at work in Asia. J. K. FAIRBANK

THE PAGEANT OF JAPANESE HISTORY. By *Marion May Dilts*. (2d ed.; New York, Longmans, Green, 1947, pp. xvi, 418, \$4.00.) The first edition was reviewed in the *American Historical Review*, XLIV (July, 1939), 995. The author has rewritten the last chapter and added two others on recent events.

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United States History

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TRACTS AND OTHER PAPERS RELATING PRINCIPALLY TO THE ORIGIN, SETTLEMENT, AND PROGRESS OF THE COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA TO THE YEAR 1776. Edited by *Peter Force*. Four volumes. (Reprint ed.; New York, Peter Smith, 1947, \$35.00.)

A GUIDE TO DOCUMENTS IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES: FOR NEGRO STUDIES. Compiled by *Paul Lewinson* for the Committee on Negro Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies. (Washington, American Council of Learned Societies, 1947, pp. x, 28, 50 cents.)

GUIDE TO THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS IN THE DUKE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. Prepared by *Nannie M. Tilley*, Curator of Manuscripts, and *Noma Lee Goodwin*, Assistant, Manuscript Department. [Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series XXVII-XXVIII.] (Durham, Duke University Press, 1947, pp. viii, 362.)

SUBJECT GUIDE TO UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS. Compiled by *Herbert S. Hirshberg* and *Carl H. Melinat*. (Chicago, American Library Association, 1947, pp. 235, \$5.00.) "A selected list of those government publications of the past twenty years believed most generally useful in libraries. The emphasis is on serials, directories, bibliographies, and handbooks and the arrangement is by subject."

THOMAS JEFFERSON, AMERICAN TOURIST: BEING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS JOURNEYS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, ENGLAND, FRANCE, ITALY, THE LOW COUNTRIES, AND GERMANY. By *Edward Dumbauld*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1946, pp. xv, 266, \$3.00.) Mr. Dumbauld has utilized an impressive number of manuscript and published sources for his portrait of Jefferson the tourist—a tourist whose sightseeing was always incidental to the primary purpose of his many journeys: the transaction of public business. He has deftly and economically sketched in the background, and he manages to give the portrait an appealing freshness. Having followed in the footsteps of his subject he has been able to recapture on the spot, and to convey to the reader, some of the delight with which Jefferson himself beheld such "sublime antiquities" as the Maison Carrée at Nîmes or the towering majesty of Natural Bridge in his native Virginia. His judicious selections from Jefferson's writings and his interpretative comments give the portrait stature and value. He reveals how insatiable was Jefferson's wide-ranging curiosity, how acute his powers of observation, how indefatigable he was in making notes of a thousand and one things in European agriculture and mechanical arts that might prove useful in America. Especially does he emphasize how Jefferson's experiences as a traveler, what he saw and the people he met at home and in Europe on the eve of the French Revolution, influenced the development of his political and social philosophy. An introductory chapter on his travels in general points up the hardships, high expenses, poor accommodations, and perils encountered by the wayfarer of the day. Two of the ten chapters describe his travels to the year 1784 in Virginia and northward to New England. Three chapters are given to his five-year stay in Europe, and these include material which complements Helen Duprey Bullock's recent charm-

ing and revealing monograph, *My Head and My Heart*, on Jefferson's intimate friendship in Paris with Maria Cosway. After a chapter on his relations with other tourists and explorers, and two on his journeys in America from 1790 to 1823, a concluding interpretative chapter is given to Jefferson's reflections on what he learned from his travels. Several appendixes and a bibliography round out an interesting, thorough, and valuable monograph which gives fresh insight into the many-sided, much-traveled Thomas Jefferson and the age in which he lived.

BERNARD MAYO

RELIGION ON THE AMERICAN FRONTIER, 1783-1840: A COLLECTION OF SOURCE MATERIALS. Volume IV, THE METHODISTS. By *William Warren Sweet*. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1946, pp. ix, 800, \$10.00.) Preceding volumes of Professor Sweet's extensive documentary study have dealt with the Baptists, the Presbyterians, and the Congregationalists. The present book is a survey of Methodist frontier activities from the end of the Revolution to almost the middle of the nineteenth century. Like its predecessors it includes miscellaneous source material, journals, diaries, letters, several important expository essays by the editor, as well as forty pages of bibliography. The documents have been printed with great care and the annotation is copious. Professor Sweet's normally difficult task of selection was greatly increased because of the extraordinary amount of extant Methodist material. Stimulated by such early leaders as Wesley, Coke, and Asbury, the circuit riders kept journals and records, many of which have been preserved by their families. Complete publication of all these manuscripts would be both expensive and futile, since most of them are repetitive and fragmentary, but no student of early western development can afford to overlook the wealth of detail they contain. The first part of the present volume is devoted to historical essays dealing with the introduction to and the extension of Methodism in America. The second part, running to over six hundred pages, presents diary and journal excerpts, a series of letters, a sampling of quarterly conference records, and an editorial discussion of Methodist publishing activities. Geographically the material is well scattered. Bishop Whatcoat confined his ministry largely to Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia. The Dromgoole letters, reprinted from the manuscript collection in the University of North Carolina library, include correspondence from various preachers and elders addressed to Edward Dromgoole, senior, for many years a Methodist clergyman in Virginia. Benjamin Lakin spent most of his active years in Kentucky and Tennessee, James Gilruth was long associated with circuits in Michigan, and Orceneth Fisher labored extensively for the Methodist Episcopal Church South in Texas, California, and Oregon. Little can be said of the literary quality of much of this writing. Bishop Whatcoat is laconic and monotonous; typical entries in his diary are: "F asbury preachd I Exhorted," or "Lovefeast Began About halfpas[t] Eight." But his pages overflow with preaching places, baptisms, and ministerial names. Benjamin Lakin, somewhat more introspective than the others, complains about restless and discourteous audiences and seems sorely harassed by the devil. His dreams would have interested Freud. Gilruth despite his spiritual concerns was mercenary enough to buy up land and practical enough to be interested in frontier medicines and community education. These men were generally innocent of the niceties of grammar, punctuation, and above all spelling. Fisher, on the contrary, was literate and even urbane. His letters about his experiences in Oregon have an appeal altogether apart from their documentary importance. Edward Eggleston once remarked that the Methodist minister was a civilizing influence on the western frontier, and that much of the subsequent development of western America was due to the circuit rider's labors in a heroic age. Professor Sweet has made generally available the personal records of a few of the men to whom Eggleston alluded and whose work for a time he himself tried to emulate.

JOHN T. FLANAGAN

JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER, PIONEER OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM. By *Karl Obermann*. (New York, International Publishers, 1947, pp. 160, \$2.25.) This is a communist tract for the times. It is the product of a continuing attempt by the publishers to identify communism with the American national tradition, a move that is identical with communist tactics in other countries where the example of Moscow is followed with abject fidelity. Whereas an earlier product of this publishing effort, Anna Rochester's *Populist Movement in the United States* (1943), reinterpreted the history of agrarian radicalism in terms of the class struggle, the present volume purports to demonstrate that the Marxian propaganda was inextricably bound up with the anti-slavery crusade, the homestead movement, antebellum labor organizations, and the Civil War. This is achieved by means of a well-documented, short biography of Joseph Weydemeyer, a charter member of the Rhenish communist group of 1843-51 whose inspirers were Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. As the redoubtable champion of Marxism in the Rhineland during the reaction of 1849-51 and its pioneer missionary and prophet to the United States during the next two decades, Weydemeyer is depicted as the "fighter" and original hero of American communism who gave it "a solid foundation" by propagating its dogmas and defending it "against all slanders" (p. 8). Throughout the book Weydemeyer and his associates are described glowingly as "democrats" and "progressives" despite the fact that they sought to introduce conceptions of the class struggle, proletarianism, and revolutionary conspiracy into the world's greatest democracy. To the author, this pioneer work of planting the Marxian seed was the "vital first step" toward achieving the communist utopia over here. Serious students of radicalism in America will find in the book much new material on the origins of American Marxism and on its intimate relationship to the activity of Marx and Engels in London. Observers of contemporary communist tactics will value it more highly for the insight that it gives into current propagandist strategy of the "party line."

CHESTER McARTHUR DESTLER

NILES' WEEKLY REGISTER: NEWS MAGAZINE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Norval Neil Luxon*. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1947, pp. viii, 337, \$5.00.) *Niles' Weekly Register* was the *Time* or *Newsweek* of its day. Every week from 1811 to 1849 it reported the significant news and reprinted important public documents, political speeches and public letters. Hezekiah Niles, its founder and until 1836 its editor, had a lively sense of his responsibility both to his contemporary audience and to posterity. "We believe," he noted in 1833, "this work is the most copious record of miscellaneous public papers in the world, presented contemporaneously, and in book-form, for preservation and reference." For a good part of his life Niles combined his journalistic labors with industrious agitation on behalf of the protective tariff and the United States Bank. He was a familiar figure at protectionist conventions during the 1820's, and his journal became a storehouse of statistical and logical ammunition in support of the demand for higher duties. This activity did not seriously corrupt his news columns; but his editorial policy was fiery and outspoken. Jackson's re-election in 1832, however, took much of the fight out of the paper, as Mr. Luxon points out in his study of Niles and the *Register*. After 1832 the *Register* stopped trying to mold and influence public opinion and concentrated on reporting and reflecting opinions as expressed by others, filling its columns almost exclusively with reprints or condensations from other publications. Mr. Luxon's book assembles the available information concerning the *Register*, its indefatigable editor, and his two successors, William Ogden Niles and Jeremiah Hughes. It supplies interesting technical information about the production of the magazine, describes its news and editorial policies and then sums up its contents with respect to leading issues of the day: the tariff and the Bank; politics in general; Anglo-American rela-

tions; Latin America; the West; internal improvements; and the Negro and slavery. These chapters show concretely the use to which historians can put the *Register* as a means of amassing a wide variety of factual material, of getting a quick conspectus of opinion or of discovering leads for further research. Mr. Luxon's final chapter, "The *Register* and the Historian," makes explicit some of the implications concerning the value of the magazine as a historical source. Mr. Luxon has carried out a competent and thorough job of research, though his writing is sometimes flat and repetitious. Anyone who has worked in the period knows how valuable a source *Niles' Weekly Register* is; and this book will perform a genuine service if it encourages historians to mine the treasure-trove which Hezekiah Niles created for them.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

HERBERTIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO HISTORY INSTRUCTION IN AMERICAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS. By *Dorothy McMurtry*, Assistant Professor of Education, University of Pittsburgh. [Contributions to Education, No. 920.] (New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1946, pp. viii, 172, \$2.35.) A survey of history teaching in American common schools before 1890 reveals limited offerings. Values related to the improvement of faculties of the mind and memorization and recitation characterized methodology. However there was evident a growing interest in the enrichment and improvement of history instruction. The author presents ample evidence to show that much of this interest stemmed from the principles relating to history instruction that were formulated by Herbart and his German disciples. Character development as the one great aim of education; intellectual self-activity of the pupil rather than mere knowledge as the desired end; interest that develops from laying hold of information and reaching out for more; development of a many-sided interest; an interesting story, rich in incidents, relationships, characters, and strictly in accordance with psychological truth, and not beyond the feelings and ideas of children; the assimilation of new knowledge with the old; a chronological frame of reference; correlation with other subjects, use of illustrative materials, and teaching devices for making knowledge meaningful were some of the Herbartian principles which American scholars and teachers employed in the enrichment and organization of history offerings. The redefinition of aims and values, and the improvement of teaching techniques as well as the selection and organization of content, characterized their efforts. While the author recognizes the difficulty of determining the extent to which individuals and committee reports have been influenced by Herbartianism, the study is documented sufficiently to show that it had an active and profound influence upon history instruction in American public schools. The study possesses both academic and professional merit.

R. W. CORDIER

RICHARD HILDRETH. By *Donald E. Emerson*. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXIV, Number 2.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1946, pp. 181, \$2.00.) Mr. Emerson's brief narrative of Hildreth's life surpasses any other biographical study of him in the range and completeness of its information. The author has made use of manuscript materials, particularly a commonplace book, dating from the historian's college years, and a notebook of "Literary Memoranda" which supplies material for a more complete bibliography of Hildreth than has been available heretofore. Unfortunately, Mr. Emerson has not been able to include the "historiographical analysis" which he originally planned to link with his biographical narrative so that one aspect of Hildreth's career, perhaps the most important one, is unsatisfactorily studied. Mr. Emerson's book is, however, an excellent reminder that Hildreth was not only in some respects an important historian

but also a man of ideas and varied activities—a journalist, novelist, abolitionist, and amateur of “the science of man”—whose career illustrates admirably some of the intellectual, moral, and political problems of his time. It is disappointing only in that, besides paying too little attention to the historiographical aspect of its subject, it seems here and there to raise questions which it does not answer. It describes Hildreth’s development from a strongly Federalist background to the political and social position of his later life with its “‘neo-socialist’ musings,” but just why the development took place and under what influences from men, books, and events, would repay fuller investigation. The fact that Hildreth applied for a professorship at Harvard but did not get it, is not in itself important, but it might be important, and would certainly be interesting, to know more about just why the university authorities turned him down. As to this Mr. Emerson offers a few conjectures, but it is tantalizing to think that more extensive search might possibly have illuminated both the nature of the university’s prejudices and Hildreth’s reputation in conventional academic circles. But such shortcomings as these should be forgiven Mr. Emerson since his book was written as a doctoral dissertation, presumably with a deadline to meet and limitations of space to consider, and since he has at least done more with his subject than anyone has done before. His book may, and it is to be hoped that it will, stimulate others to continue further the work he has admirably begun.

KENNETH B. MURDOCK

THE METROPOLITAN LIFE: A STUDY IN BUSINESS GROWTH. By *Marquis James*. (New York, Viking Press, 1947, pp. viii, 480, \$5.00.) Five years after its parent organization began business in 1863, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company took its present name. Barely surviving the bitter depression of the seventies, the company first undertook to sell small life insurance policies to workers in 1879. Today, Metropolitan Life is a business enterprise of astronomical dimensions, and its remarkable growth rests upon the subsequent success of this venture in the field of industrial insurance. In 1946, it had almost forty-five million life insurance policies in force, and its assets totaled more than seven and three-quarter billion dollars. At the close of the preceding year, it held over \$3,600,000,000 in United States bonds, well over a billion and a half in railroad, utility, and industrial bonds, and almost \$900,000,000 in urban and farm mortgages. In that year, it also owned real estate worth more than a quarter of a billion dollars. In the course of seventy years, Metropolitan Life became the largest private business in the world, comparable in quantitative terms, as Marquis James observes, to such a governmental giant as the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Mr. James’s history of Metropolitan Life was commissioned by the company. It is based upon an exhaustive examination by him and a research staff of the published sources and, what is more important, of the company’s records, to which he was given complete access. Freedom of inquiry and in writing accompanied the financial assistance and unlimited use of the company sources. This makes a happy combination which other professional historians may well envy and which, with current developments in the field of American business history, several are likely to enjoy. Whether it is a combination which will lead to critical and penetrating studies of business institutions, significantly related to the larger developments in American society, still remains to be seen. In this instance, Mr. James has produced a richly detailed, leisurely, and unmistakably friendly history of Metropolitan Life. The volume covers not only its growth and behavior as a business institution but also its achievements, frequently of a pioneering character, in such fields as urban housing, agricultural rehabilitation, community health and welfare programs, education, and medical research. These grew out of sound insurance considerations and an imaginative investment sense, and they

give Metropolitan Life a record of social performance which wins Mr. James's genuine admiration. His sympathy with the company appears most patently, perhaps, in his treatment of the TNEC insurance investigation, in his delicate handling of Metropolitan Life's labor policies, and in his apologetic account of the issues involved in the company's decision to exclude Negroes from its Stuyvesant Town housing project. The volume is less readable than Mr. James's leading works—some pages have the grey, lifeless quality of an insurance handbook—but this is a function of the subject and material with which he had to deal, and which defied even his efforts and literary skill.

HENRY DAVID

PAPERS RELATING TO THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE, 1919. Volume X. [Department of State Publication 2770.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1947, pp. 807, \$2.75.) This volume contains the minutes, together with a mass of supporting data in the form of 330 appendixes, of 32 meetings of the Supreme Economic Council established by the Supreme War Council in 1919. These meetings, covering the period from February 17, 1919, to February 6, 1920, were generally held every week until August. The chief task of peacemaking accomplished, three more meetings took place in September, November, and February respectively, at none of which were American representatives present. Minutes and supporting documents provide a wealth of information on the condition of the world, particularly of Europe, during the transitional period between the cessation of hostilities and the re-establishment of peace. There is also an element of timeliness in the collection, for many of the problems of 1919 were in kind much the same as those of the present. A paper such as Appendix 51 might easily, with minor changes, bear the date 1947, save that the authorship would now probably be American instead of British. We find the desperate need for coal with the attendant struggle over its allocation; the plight of Italy due to her raw material deficiencies; the unsound finances of the Continent; the issue of German rehabilitation giving rise to the customary French fears. Discussions of the food situation, and particularly the supply of breadstuffs and their price, have also a contemporary ring. The high quality of Mr. Hoover's economic analyses is as consistent as his abhorrence of controls. But controls were largely inescapable and their necessity as well as the desirability of continued inter-Allied co-operation were clearer to the Europeans than to the American administration. Perusing this mass of first-hand information, one is impressed by the high quality of the work done and at the same time led to misgivings concerning the value of past experience.

RENÉ ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ

THEY VOTED FOR ROOSEVELT: THE PRESIDENTIAL VOTE, 1932-1944. By *Edgar Eugene Robinson*, Margaret Byrne Professor of American History, Stanford University. (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1947, pp. x, 207, \$3.00.) In the brief space which he allows himself (forty pages), Professor Robinson can hardly be expected to make a very deep analysis of the Roosevelt vote. It is to be regretted that in these pages he did not seem to avail himself of the many studies which have been made of the Roosevelt vote at different elections, by Bean, Ewing, Pollock, Gallup, Lazarsfeld, and others. The author mentions in his preface that as the book was passing through the press the Department of Commerce published *Vote Cast in Presidential and Congressional Elections, 1928-1944*. The Bureau of the Census publication is much fuller in its statistical presentation than Professor Robinson's books. It gives aggregate congressional votes and county percentages as well as the raw county figures for presidential electors. If the government continues such publica-

tions, which it is hoped it will, scholars can then concentrate upon the analysis of the figures. Professor Robinson discusses the topic, "What will become of the 'Roosevelt' vote?" Because he cannot find any purpose common to the diverse elements that made up either the majority or the minority in the succession of four elections, he doubts whether there was a "Roosevelt vote." It is difficult to see what he was looking for. The author's collection of election statistics has been an invaluable service to scholars of American democracy. His method for handling the vote of endorsing parties seems to me to be greatly preferable to the method employed by the Bureau of the Census. His maps, as in his previous publications, are most useful. HAROLD F. GOSNELL

WITH FIRMNESS IN THE RIGHT: AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC ACTION AFFECTING JEWS, 1840-1945. By *Cyrus Adler* and *Aaron M. Margalith*. (New York, American Jewish Committee, 1946, pp. xxvii, 489, \$4.00.) The two new chapters improve for the general reader this encyclopedic volume first published in 1943 with the chronicle stopping at 1938. Unfortunately, this book, which studies both oppressed Jews and citizens who happened to be Jews, seems to remain timely. It is no sharp criticism of the book to say it is not clearly impressive how effective this diplomatic action has been. A rapid reader, looking for results, might come away with the fact that Mr. Theodore S. Fay, while United States minister to Switzerland, got after the intolerant cantons and thereby influenced the religious liberty and alien clauses of 1874 in the Swiss federal constitution. The question should be rather, what would the story of the last two centuries have been with greater American inactivity? The authors jolt the reader several times with something that runs like this: "Here, too [Poland in this instance], international protection proved inadequate to solve the many difficulties the Jews experienced" (p. 167). Dr. Margalith states in his preface: "In fact, the championship of humanitarianism, freedom of conscience and civil liberties is enunciated again and again in our diplomatic correspondence with other nations." We need a new study on this broader theme, neatly indexed, not to please our national conscience but as a work desk copy for diplomats. The fact that the authors also make such good use of two long, brilliant reports by Andrew D. White when minister to Germany, then to Russia, leads the reviewer to suggest that our diplomatic reports could be used to greater advantage on many subjects by historians, thereby also serving as watchdog on the quality of diplomatic reporting. RICHARD H. HEINDEL

AMERICAN JEWS IN WORLD WAR II: THE STORY OF FIVE HUNDRED FIFTY THOUSAND FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM. Two volumes. [National Jewish Welfare Board Publication.] (New York, Dial Press, 1947, pp. 356, 590, \$5.00.) "Volume I, reports of individual and collective Jewish heroism in the war, written by I. Kaufman. Volume 2, a list of service men and women of Jewish faith who died in their country's service, were wounded in action, or won awards for outstanding acts of heroism; compiled by the Bureau of War Records of the National Jewish Welfare Board."

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

GRADUATE WORK IN THE SOUTH. By *Mary Bynum Pierson*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1947, pp. xii, 265, \$4.00.)

SUMMER MIGRATIONS AND RESORTS OF SOUTH CAROLINA LOW-COUNTRY PLANTERS. By *Lawrence Fay Brewster*, Professor of History, East Carolina Teachers College. [Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series XXVI.] (Durham, Duke University Press, 1947, pp. vi, 134, \$1.00.) This was a dissertation at Duke University. The author's purpose is to "give a more complete catalogue and account of the Carolina resorts, many of which are less generally known"

than those further north. Much of it therefore reads like Homer's catalogue of the ships. Still it is a competent study based on widely scattered materials put together with a good deal of skill. There is no bibliography for obvious reasons, but careful footnotes indicate the sources. A map would have been both helpful and significant. The author finds that not until after 1790 did the virulence of the malaria—the "country fever"—precipitate an annual exodus from the low-country plantations during the "sickly season," in general from May through November. Some families continued to go to their town houses in Charleston or to Newport, Rhode Island, but increasing numbers found retreats in other coastal towns, in the sea-islands off the coast, in pineland villages of the inland parishes, in the sand hills of the middle country, in the Piedmont villages of the up-country, and in the mountains where they spilled over into North Carolina and made of Flat Rock "a transplanted Charleston." Some fifty or more of these villages are identified—groups of "summer mansions," elaborate or simple, with landscaped gardens, churches, schools, library and agricultural societies, race tracks and jockey clubs, bowling alleys and billiard rooms, which the planters demanded for their long sojourns and which placed the low-country stamp upon the state. During the 1820's also mineral springs began to be developed in the middle and up-country, and it became the fashion to make a regular "progress to the spas." This "circuit" included also the fashionable watering places outside the state, particularly those in North Carolina, in Virginia, and in New York—in spite of a campaign waged against northern travel. Thus many planters forced to leave their plantations for five or six months each year became inveterate travelers, going to Europe, to the North, to the beaches, the mountains, the springs, as fashion rather than necessity dictated. The author does not indulge in the usual easy generalizations about the effects of this mode of life. Travel did not automatically make Carolinians gracious, intelligent, broad-minded, but it offered opportunities of which people took advantage in varying degrees. The economic effects of the prolonged absenteeism are only touched upon.

LAURA A. WHITE

A CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF GEORGIA. By *Ethel K. Ware*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 528.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1947, pp. 210, \$2.75.) This study is an account of the making and of the development of constitutions in Georgia. After a brief review of backgrounds the author tells of the framing of the constitution of 1777, discusses its principal features, and describes its role in the history of the state until it was superseded in 1789. This pattern is followed in relating the histories of Georgia constitutions from the Revolution through the work of the constitutional commission of 1945. The years before 1860 are more fully treated than is the later period: of the volume's 182 pages of text, exclusive of conclusions, only 34 are concerned with the decades since Reconstruction. The author has consulted a wide range of sources and has brought together valuable information in a volume that partially fills a broad gap in the history of Georgia. Prior to the publication of this work only Walter McElreath's *A Treatise on the Constitution of Georgia* dealt specifically with the subject. There are numerous errors in the account. In lists of governors who served under the constitutions of 1777 and of 1877 there are omissions, misspelled names, and wrong initials, and two men who did not serve are included. At least fifteen quotations are rendered inexactly and in a few cases the author's statements do not accurately reflect the information given by her sources. Most of the errors may be due to poor proofreading and editing, and deviations from the sources are minor in character. Even with its weaknesses the volume is a good narrative account of constitutional development in the state. The material is logically presented, the facts are honestly set forth, and the writing is

clear if not always even. The author has not attempted an interpretive or analytical study. Rather, she has sought to bring together the essential facts relating to her subject and to illustrate the trends of court interpretation of the fundamental law. This she has done well and the volume is a helpful contribution to the history of Georgia.

BINGHAM DUNCAN

SAVANNAH RIVER PLANTATIONS. Edited by *Mary Granger*, Savannah Writers' Project. (Savannah, Georgia Historical Society, 1947, pp. 475, xviii, \$3.50.) The Georgia Historical Society and Miss Mary Granger, the editor, have done a service to local and Southern history by reprinting in one volume ten studies that appeared in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* in 1938 and following. An excellent index has been supplied. Apparently the edition is limited to three hundred copies.

EARLY ALABAMA PUBLICATIONS: A STUDY IN LITERARY INTERESTS. By *Rhoda Coleman Ellison*, Professor of English, Huntingdon College. (University, Ala., University of Alabama Press, 1947, pp. xii, 213, \$4.00.) *Early Alabama Publications* is an important piece of spade work which will strengthen future surveys of American intellectual history. The study opens with an analysis of the fundamentally important frontier press. There is a well-documented account of early publishing difficulties: the struggle for governmental and party patronage, editorial feuds—that early variety of yellow journalism—inadequate news gathering which brought the inevitable resort to scissors and paste, the scarcity of newsprint, migratory printers. The newspapers afforded a vent for would-be writers, and the generalization that little of merit was produced is underscored. This study is primarily concerned with literary interests, and the fact that the mawkish and sentimental found a public is stressed. Mrs. Hemans and Mrs. Hentz were as popular as their modern counterparts. There was a keener curiosity about Lord Byron's life than about his works. The familiar frontier time-lag shows Alabama readers more interested in eighteenth century writers, particularly the "graveyard" poets, than in their own nineteenth century contemporaries. Scott led the field in fiction, closely followed by Cooper and Irving, who won an allegiance denied contemporary northern poets. Some editors encouraged contributions dealing in local color, but the Negro was ignored and the Indian was portrayed in the romantic garments of Cooper's well-loved savages. The closest approach to realism was to be found in the works of Johnson Jones Hooper and Joseph G. Baldwin, which belong to the earthy tradition of American humor. Miss Ellison has given us a well-rounded picture of the Alabama literary scene between the years 1807 and 1870. One matter which has been overlooked was the healthy interest in an Alabama Press Association by those selfsame "feudin'" editors. This, however, was aside from the central theme of the study. We could wish that the author had seen fit to admit historical works to her survey. Pickett's *History of Alabama* is a work of real literary worth and as such should have been included in a study of literary interests.

MINNIE CLARE BOYD

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

WILLIAM TATHAM, WATAUGAN. By *Samuel C. Williams*, Formerly a Justice of the Tennessee Supreme Court and Chairman of the Tennessee Historical Commission. (Rev. ed.; Johnson City, Tenn., Watauga Press, 1947, pp. 109, \$2.50.) Twenty-five years ago Judge Williams, in the course of his explorations and excavations into the early history of Tennessee "dug up," so to speak, the hitherto obscure William Tatham, scarcely known otherwise than as secretary to the Watauga Association, and exhibited him in a thin volume (1922). That small volume served to inspire Miss Elizabeth McPherson to gather together the numerous letters of Tatham (principally to Jefferson) in the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress and publish them in the *William and Mary College Quarterly*. Tatham now rated a sketch, prepared by Judge Williams, in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. In the quarter of a century that has elapsed since the first edition of his biography of Tatham, Judge Williams has broadened and intensified his search for materials relating to Tatham, particularly in London. For Tatham was an Englishman by birth (born in 1752), although he came to America at the age of seventeen and straightway entered the employ of the commercial firm of Carter and Trent on the James River. That firm appears to have maintained a branch establishment in the Watauga country, whither Tatham was transferred in 1774. Thus he became a "Wataugan," whose career was to be intimately interwoven with the development of the southwestern country for some twenty years. Indeed, in conjunction with Colonel John Todd, he prepared in 1780 a history of that region, the manuscript of which has disappeared, as have also a large collection of historical materials which he vainly endeavored to have the federal government acquire. Through the contest with England he served the Amer-

ican cause until Yorktown, having attained the rank of colonel. Following the close of the war, Tatham's activities exhibit such variations as topographer of Virginia, member of the North Carolina assembly, practicing lawyer in Knoxville, Tennessee. Curiously enough, for about ten years Tatham was again an Englishman, serving for a time as superintendent of the London public docks at Wapping and busy writing essays on geographic and economic subjects. Returning to America with an enhanced reputation, Tatham was taken into the service of the federal government, through the instrumentality of Jefferson, Monroe, and Madison, and principally engaged during the remaining years of his life in the project of the coast survey of the United States. Indeed Tatham has been credited with being the "father of the United States topographical and Coast surveys." It is these later phases of Tatham's career that Judge Williams has been particularly at pains to elucidate in this volume. E.C.B.

THE GRASSLAND OF NORTH AMERICA: PROLEGOMENA TO ITS HISTORY.

By *James C. Malin*. (Lawrence, Kans., author, 1947, pp. vii, 398, \$3.00.) The essential emphasis of this lithoprinted monograph will be clearer if the reader turns first to chapter xv. Here the author deals with the discussion of Webb's *Great Plains* initiated by the Social Science Research Council through the appraisal by Professor Fred Shannon. What is a region and by what criteria do you delimit it are problems with which in Malin's opinion the ensuing conferences never came to grips in a realistic way. For an answer to what determines a region he summons a whole new galaxy of auxiliary sciences represented by the plant sciences, climatology, animal and insect ecology, geology, soil physics, genetics, and agronomy, to name the major disciplines. Only as he synthesizes their literature and their findings can the socio-economic historian undertake to talk with specificity about regions like the Great Plains or any area subsumed under Professor Malin's title, *The Grassland of North America*. This survey or synthesis, science by science, constitutes the body of the volume, together with an extensive bibliography and concluding chapters which take the methodological approach to social change by using population and agricultural studies. The novelty of much of the material and the author's style make this pioneering attempt to wed the natural sciences and the social sciences distinctly hard reading. Some of the men he discusses in chapter xiv, such as Shaler, Strong, and Bowman, have set patterns in exposition that any writer of a prolegomena to a new field might well analyze and ponder to the profit of his philosophy and the public he addresses.

DAKOTA IMPRINTS, 1858-1889. Edited by *Albert H. Allen*. (New York, R. R. Bowker for Bibliographical Society of America, 1947, pp. xxi, 221, \$6.50.)

THE LOS ANGELES STAR, 1851-1864: THE BEGINNINGS OF JOURNALISM IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA. By *William B. Rice*. Edited by *John Walton Caughey*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1947, pp. xvi, 315, \$5.00.) The author of this volume, one of the latest to come from the University of California Press, was an unusually promising young scholar who had completed his work for the doctorate and received an academic appointment when he met an untimely death at the age of twenty-six while mountain climbing in Wyoming. The book is edited by his former history teacher in the University of California at Los Angeles, who also writes the foreword. The vicissitudes of southern California's earliest newspaper are chronicled with great attention to detail. Considerable light is shed upon numerous issues—transportation, treatment of the Indians, land titles, state division controversy, encouragement of agriculture, and others—in the public mind during the period encompassed (1851-64). When the Civil War became a reality the

Star, sympathetic with the South, advocated an independent western republic, and bristled with editorials violently attacking the national administration. Lincoln was once referred to as "Imbecile tyrant." Because of the meticulous attention to infinite detail the book inevitably makes rather dull reading. It is painstaking and conscientious to a degree: but it introduces a good many items—always dutifully documented—that must be regarded as inconsequential, often bordering on the trivial; as when the "cost of 100 police badges on white ribbon" (p. 22) is recorded, names of two inconspicuous printers are solemnly given (p. 60), the fact that the office of the paper was moved to another building (p. 63), and other similar instances. This is hardly in line with the dictum that history must be concerned with significant, enduring facts of human life; nor does it make for a true overall perspective. As to documentation, almost seven hundred footnotes appear—a rather appalling number even for a work of this kind. To be sure the wide variety of sources used gives conclusive evidence of great industry and much patient research; and it is the research student who will most appreciate the labors of the author and the editor. The book contains twenty-six chapters and four appendixes, the final one—perhaps the most useful—indicates where existing files of the *Star* may be found. The bibliography is unusually comprehensive and well classified. The complete index is a valuable feature.

ROCKWELL D. HUNT

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Latin-American History

James S. Cunningham

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* * * * * *Historical News* * * * * *

American Historical Association

THE attention of the members is called to the fact that the committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund will finance the publication of books of mature scholarship which make a distinct contribution to knowledge in any field of history. Ordinarily doctoral dissertations or works of more than one volume will not be considered. Manuscripts must be submitted to the chairman, Professor Ray A. Billington, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, before March 1, 1948.

Other Historical Activities

Among the recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: microfilm of nine French documents concerned with the estate of Chateau Fleury, France, 1410 to 1703; microfilm of a sixteenth century Peruvian manuscript in the Pierpont Morgan Library entitled "Hordenanças fechas por el Sr. Don Francisco de Toledo y otras cosas de rrepublica" which includes the original register of the foundation of the city of Cuzco, 1534 to 1537; microfilm of manuscripts and early imprints relating to the Indian languages of Mexico, chiefly Nahuatl, 1535 to 1935 (restricted); terrier of Jean Doccourt *dit* Delacour, *seigneur* of "Montotz, Nauilly, Montz, Charrette, Dampierre and Chicheuiere," October 16, 1599 to August 9, 1609; two seventeenth century manuscript manuals of artillery, one in German, the other in Spanish, both volumes profusely illustrated with pen and ink drawings, 1683 and undated; photostatic copy of proclamation of allegiance and submission to George II, at the time of his accession, signed by Patrick Gordon, lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania, and thirty inhabitants of the counties upon the Delaware (Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex), 1727; deed for the sale of thirty-two acres of land in Fairfield township, Connecticut, signed and sealed by Aaron Burr [1715/16-1757], second president of the College of New Jersey and father of Colonel Aaron Burr, April 3, 1738; photostatic copies of approximately one hundred and fifty papers of the Rhodes family, mainly relating to Joseph Rhodes, schoolmaster in Virginia, and to his son, William Rhodes, a merchant of Waynesburg, Pennsylvania, 1761 to 1856; six boxes of additional manuscripts from the Puerto Rican Memorial Collection of material on the history and culture of the island of Puerto Rico, 1765 to 1909; microfilm of the correspondence of Thomas Jefferson with members of the Adams family and related papers (three hundred and thirty-eight documents in all), in the Adams Manuscript Trust of Boston, 1776 to March 25, 1826; three documents relating to James Adams, captain of Colonel Frederick Watts' battalion of militia of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, Janu-

ary 15, 1777, to June 30, 1779; photographs of five letters from Lavoisier to Benjamin Franklin and of two letters from Jan Ingenhousz to Benjamin Franklin, from originals in the American Philosophical Society collection, June 8, 1777, to [January 24, 1783] and undated (restricted); petition to Sir James Wright, royal governor of Georgia, for help against the Indians, signed by fifty-five inhabitants of Queensborough and places adjacent on the Augusta River, March 19, 1780; photographic prints of seven letters from Jabez Colton of Longmeadow, Massachusetts, to his brother-in-law, Simeon Baldwin, January 4, 1784, to June 8, 1788; photostatic copy of autograph letter from George Mason to his son John, September 4, 1791; photostatic copy of commission of Elias Vanderhorst as United States consul to Bristol, England, signed by George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, May 4, 1792; a small collection of papers of Colonel Osmun Latrobe, jr., of Maryland, including correspondence, commissions, and miscellaneous papers, ca. 1793 to 1932; photographic prints and microfilm of the charters of Masonic Lodges in the jurisdiction of the District of Columbia, 1802 to 1947; photostatic copy of the diary of Isaac Coles, a secretary to Thomas Jefferson, October 9, 1806, to February 24, 1809; one-volume diary of Major Philip Wager of the 12th Regiment, United States Infantry, 1812 to 1814; photofilm of letters patent issued by the United States to Jacob Fuller, signed by James Madison, Richard Rush, and James Monroe, March 19, 1816; over two hundred pieces of correspondence of the Guatemalan political leader, Pedro Molina, and his wife and sons, including letters from Francisco Morazán, Mariano Gálvez, Juan Vicente Villacorta, Antonio José Cañas, Doroteo Vasconcelos, and other prominent Central American leaders, 1825 to 1838; two typescript documents relating to José Matías Delgado—a certified copy of the legislative decree of the state of Salvador honoring his memory with the title of “Benemérito Padre de la Patria” and an eight-page biography by Victor Jerez, January 22, 1833, and undated; eighty-five supplementary papers of Elisha Riggs, jr., and other members of the Riggs family, mainly correspondence of a business nature, 1838 to 1853 (restricted); answer to a plea in the case of *Lee vs. Coburn*, on which has been written, in Abraham Lincoln’s autograph, “Traverse & joinder . . .” [1847?]; notarized document protesting the endorsement of a note made payable to Abiel Abbot Low, brother of Harriet Low, October 31, 1848; four boxes of papers relating to the Spencerian System of Writing, including manuals, copybooks, charts, copy prepared for the engraver, corrected proofs, etc., ca. 1848 to 1905; three boxes of additional papers of Vinnie Ream Hoxie and Richard L. Hoxie, including correspondence, military and genealogical papers, and a notebook and two diaries kept by Richard L. Hoxie while on Wheeler’s Expedition, ca. 1851 to 1937; thirteen documents relating to certain activities of John B. Williams, United States commercial agent in Fiji, and to a so-called “treaty” signed by the chief of Bau at the instance of Commander E. B. Boutwell, U.S.S. *John Adams*, at Levuka, October 23, 1855; a legal document, answer in the case of *Draper & Curtiss vs. Conkey & Company*, entirely

in the handwriting of Abraham Lincoln, filed April 29, 1858; twenty-three boxes of additional papers of John Hay, *ca.* 1860 to 1905; original typescript of the unpublished autobiography of General Richard Henry Pratt, and typescript copy of General Pratt's "Civil War Diary," March 14, 1862, to October 26, 1862; autograph letter from Mary [Todd] Lincoln to [John Fox] Potter, dated at the Executive Mansion, September 13, [1862?]; facsimile of an autograph letter from Abraham Lincoln endorsing "Capt Derrickson, with his company," November 1, 1862; typescript copy of a letter (original in the State Department of Archives and History at Montgomery, Alabama) from Major Thomas Goode Jones, C.S.A., of Montgomery, to his father, Samuel Goode Jones, describing the Battle of Cedar Creek, October 21, 1864; photostatic copy of a paper (original owned by Ralph C. Runyon of New York) bearing the signature of Andrew Johnson as well as a release in the hand of and signed by Abraham Lincoln, April 11, 1865; autograph letter from the Rt. Rev. Charles P. McIlvaine, episcopal bishop of Ohio, to James Anderson, November 13, 1866; one box of handwritten records of graves in the South from which Union dead were removed for reinterment in national cemeteries, and letters relating thereto, 1866 to 1868; manuscript journal of Charles Augustus Brown, kept while a passenger on the ship *Paul Revere*, bound from Boston to San Francisco via Cape Horn, October 2, [1876], to February 17, 1877; about one hundred and thirty letters and cards addressed to George Stewart Duncan by Paul Haupt, W. Max Müller, Aaron Ember, Henry Hyvernat and other scholars in the fields of archaeology, Egyptology, Biblical history, etc., 1891 to 1943; typescript letter, signed, from Marcus Alonzo Hanna to G. T. Thomas, discussing the recent presidential campaign, dated at Cleveland, Ohio, November 5, 1897; three books of topographical records and a manuscript diary kept by Rufus Harvey Sargent, geologist, covering explorations in Eastern China under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, November 26, 1903, to June 12, 1904; one box of papers of Maurice F. Lyons, secretary to Woodrow Wilson's first national campaign manager, William F. McCombs, 1911 to 1944; ten boxes of additional papers of Senator George W. Norris, *ca.* 1913 to 1944 (restricted); photographic copy of receipt, signed by Constantin Brun, Danish minister at Washington, for \$25,000,000 in gold "in full payment . . . for the cession of the Danish West Indian Islands to the United States," March 31, 1917; carbon copy, signed, of letter from Edgar Lee Masters to David Karsner of the New York *Herald Tribune* enclosing ten pages of typescript autobiographical matter, dictated, corrected and signed by Masters, October 15, 1926; two boxes of additional papers of William E. Humphrey, relating mainly to his work as Federal Trade Commissioner, *ca.* 1926 to 1934; typescript letter, signed, from Franklin D. Roosevelt to Mrs. Mary Hillard Loines, October 24, 1928; eleven groups of literary manuscripts of books, short stories and plays by Irina Skariatina and Victor Franklin Blakeslee, 1931 to 1944; additional papers of Lavinia L. Dock, relating mainly to international activities of the nursing profession, 1941 to 1947;

twenty-two boxes of correspondence and other papers relating to Food For Freedom, Inc., 1942 to 1947 (restricted); autograph copy of a letter addressed by H. L. Ludowyk of Prince College, Kotahena, Colombo, Ceylon, to the editor of the *Ceylon Observer*, discussing government responsibility in education, 1946; manuscript notes by Sir James Chadwick, expert on atomic and nuclear physics, for his address, "Discovery of the Neutron," at the United States Naval Air Station, Anacostia, D.C., March 18, 1947.

The National Archives has recently received several important bodies of records from the Treasury Department. Among them are additional parts of the Secretary's files, 1789-1915, case files of the customs division of the Secretary's office, 1908-26, and records, 1789-1899, from nine customhouses in the United States and the Virgin Islands. Most of the customhouse records came from Philadelphia and San Francisco. Those from the Virgin Islands, which are chiefly of the Danish period, came from Charlotte Amalie; they supplement other records of the Danish administration of the Islands previously received. The steady flow into the National Archives of records of World War II agencies is unabated. Substantial additions to the files of such administrative agencies as the Foreign Economic Administration and the Office of Price Administration have been received. Records of the German-American Bund and the law firm of Hutz and Joslin, agents for the I. G. Farben Industries, are among the records of a number of organizations and companies seized by the Office of Alien Property and transferred to the National Archives. Recordings of speeches of Axis leaders and other propaganda material, 1939-45, seized by American forces in the European theater of operations have been received from the War Department.

Seymour Pomrenze, a member of the staff of the National Archives, has recently returned from a mission to Europe and the Middle East for the Library of Congress and the Archives. While abroad Mr. Pomrenze surveyed the records of United States government agencies in London and Cairo and assembled information about enemy records in American possession.

By virtue of a decision of the Surrogate's Court of Dutchess County, New York, given July 21, 1947, the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library has been confirmed in its right to the possession of those papers of Mr. Roosevelt that were in the White House at the time of his death and of certain other personal and family papers and historical manuscripts not previously delivered to it. Since these materials were not in the physical possession of the Library when Mr. Roosevelt died and since they had not been mentioned in his will, his executors requested the Dutchess County Court to rule on their status in order to forestall any possible future claims on his estate. The court has now held that Mr. Roosevelt had made "constructive delivery" of the papers and that they were not to be regarded as part of his estate. The Presidential papers thus acquired occupy 120 large packing cases and 16 filing

cabinets and measure about 2,400 cubic feet. Including those materials received prior to April 12, 1945, the Library now has Presidential papers amounting to some 4,400 cubic feet. Those now received consist either of complete files dating from 1933 or continuations of files previously sent. Since those sent from 1940 (when the Library was opened) to 1945 were selected, for the most part, on the basis of their dispensability to the President and his secretariat, this most recent acquisition comprises the more important of Mr. Roosevelt's papers, including diplomatic material and much that relates to the conduct of the war.

A series of conferences and meetings of a temporary executive committee held in Washington, October 20-21, 1947, have resulted in the formation of a National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings. On those dates representatives of some nineteen historical societies and other organizations actively interested in the preservation of historic monuments, together with representatives of the National Park Board, the National Archives, and the Library of Congress, adopted by-laws and elected officers. The president of the Council is General U. S. Grant III, the executive vice-president is Mrs. Dwight F. Davis, and the secretary is Mr. Ronald Lee, chief historian of the National Park Service. Action was also taken to form an interlocking National Trust to receive and hold properties of historical interest much as is done by the British Trust established some fifty years ago. The officers of the American Historical Association in Washington have been active in the organization of the Council. At its meeting on September 12 the Executive Committee designated Professor T. J. Wertenbaker as the representative of the Association in this new organization, and voted a gift of one hundred dollars for the initial expenses.

The International Committee of Historical Sciences met June 4-5, 1947, in the Abbaye de Royaumont near Chantilly. The American Historical Association was represented by Professor Donald McKay. The French committee acted as hosts. The following were in attendance: Professor Hans Nabholz and Dr. Paul Roth (Switzerland); Sir Charles Webster and Professor E. L. Woodward (Great Britain); Messieurs Robert Fawtier, Pierre Caron, Albert Dépreaux, and Charles Morazé (France); Professor Paul Harsin and Leopold Willaert (Belgium); Professor Ottokar Odložilik (Czechoslovakia); Dr. Axel Linvald (Denmark); Professor Joseph Meyers (Luxembourg); Mr. Foundoukidis (Greece); and Professor Donald C. McKay (United States). The first business was to accept regretfully the resignation of Dr. Waldo G. Leland as president of the Committee. Professor Nabholz of Switzerland, the vice-president, was elected to fill the vacancy and Dr. Leland was made an honorary consulting member. Subject to approval of the General Congress, the three prewar members of the executive committee (Messrs. Nabholz, Woodward, and Ganshof) were supplemented by the election of Messrs. Morazé (secretary of the Bureau and of the Committee), Odložilik,

Linval, and McKay. One place was reserved for Russia. The matter of reviving the *Bulletin* was postponed without prejudice, but it was decided in principle to continue the *Bibliographie Internationale*. The question of renewing from 1940, or omitting the war years and beginning with 1946, was left for later decision. The last volume of the *List of Diplomats to 1715* is to be published. Certain requests for support were approved and the annual contribution of nation members was set at £12 for 1948. No decision was made as to the date for the meeting of the first postwar Congress, but 1948 was definitely considered too early by majority vote. Paris was indicated as the general choice for the place of meeting with London as a possibility. UNESCO will be asked to support the meeting when it is held. On the thorny matter of membership it was decided to maintain the prewar list with the exception of Germany and Japan. Austria and Spain were left to later consideration if either requested representation. It was decided to hold a meeting of the Committee (Assemblée Générale) at Easter, 1948. This would give further assurance of the determination of historical scholars to renew this important international organization.

The American Economic History Association and the English Economic History Society have made arrangements for joint membership. The joint membership dues are \$6.00 or 30 shillings. *American* subscribers should send their payments to Professor Shepard B. Clough, Treasurer, The Economic History Association, New York University, Washington Square East, New York 3, New York. *English* subscribers should send their payments to Mr. E. E. Rich, St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, England.

Membership in the Hakluyt Society, whose publications in the field of travel and discovery are invaluable, is open without formality to anyone paying the annual dues of \$4.25. Each member receives two volumes a year. Mr. Walter M. Whitehill is the honorary secretary for the United States. The membership fee and any inquiries may be addressed to him in care of the Boston Athenaeum, 10½ Beacon Street, Boston 8, Massachusetts.

Readers of the *Review* will recall that in the July, 1946, issue (pp. 771-72) there appeared a review of three volumes under the title *The Horn Papers: Early Westward Movement on the Monongahela and Upper Ohio, 1765-1795*. The reviewer, Professor A. P. James, took a skeptical attitude as to the authenticity of much of the material included. A letter from Dr. Julian P. Boyd, published on the same page, was even more outspoken and called for the American Historical Association to set up a committee to evaluate the documents and set off the genuine from the spurious. Similar reservations as to the genuineness of the documents had been expressed by others ever since 1933 when Mr. Horn began publicizing them in lectures and newspaper articles. It was the Institute of Early American History

in Williamsburg, Virginia, that took the lead in sponsoring a committee of investigation composed of Solon J. Buck, Archivist of the United States, chairman; Arthur Pierce Middleton, executive secretary; Julian P. Boyd, librarian of Princeton University; Charles Francis Jenkins, president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Lawrence H. Gipson, Pennsylvania Historical Association; William B. Marye, Maryland Historical Society; Francis L. Berkeley, jr., Virginia Historical Society; Franklin F. Holbrook, Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania; Delf Norona, president of the West Virginia Historical Society; Lester J. Cappon, Institute of Early American History; and Douglass Adair, editor of the *William and Mary Quarterly*. An article based on the committee's report appears in the October issue of the *William and Mary Quarterly* and is a complete exposé of "the most elaborate and complex collection of fabricated materials dealing with American history ever manufactured in the United States." It is clear that the libraries and individuals who bought the three volumes for thirty dollars have something unique for their money but not in just the way they anticipated when they made their purchase. The committee employed a corps of experts who applied to the materials every test known to chemistry and to Langlois and Seignobos and some in spectrography which they thought up themselves and which would do credit to the FBI. Their labors, to quote the advance release of the report, showed up "four fake diaries, a court docket, dozens of letters, 22 spurious maps, a set of lead plates, one with a pseudo-French inscription stating that the plate was buried in 1751 in Pennsylvania by agents of Louis XV, and more than two dozen alleged relics of pioneer life—coins, a marble cross, tools, glassware, weapons—." The committee exonerates the officers of the Greene County (Pennsylvania) Historical Society from any blame. The papers were the gift of Mr. W. F. Horn, a resident of Topeka, Kansas, and their original owner. The original documents are now in the possession of the Greene County Historical Society. Any historian or anyone who is a devotee of mystery stories can profitably skip his next selection and substitute this story on the *Horn Papers* in the October issue of the *William and Mary Quarterly*.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture announces that it is prepared to provide a limited number of grants-in-aid of research to individual writers or scholars who are carrying on studies in the field of American history prior to the year 1815. These grants are made in conjunction with the publication program of the Institute, and upon the condition that the recipients shall submit the completed product of their researches to the Institute for consideration for publication. Early application for the grants will be advantageous; candidates must file their applications not later than March 15, 1948. Announcement of awards will be made June 1, 1948. Address inquiries to Williamsburg, Virginia.

John I. Kolehmainen, Heidelberg College, has received a grant from the Pen-

rose Fund of the American Philosophical Society for the completion of a historical study of the Finns in America.

The American Numismatic Society has begun the publication of a bibliographical quarterly, *Numismatic Literature*. The first issue is dated October, 1947. It will replace the German publication *Numismatisches Literatur-Blatt*, which appeared from 1880 to the opening of World War II. The subscription price is one dollar a year.

Robert Douthat Meade, author of *Judah P. Benjamin, Confederate Statesman*, has been engaged for several years in preparing what he hopes will be an authoritative life of Patrick Henry and has been aided in his research by grants from the Library of Congress and the American Philosophical Society. Mr. Meade is anxious not to overlook any possible Henry data which is not included in the obvious printed sources and would be grateful for suggestions. He may be reached in care of the Department of History, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Virginia.

The Rockefeller Foundation has made a grant to the Library of Congress which will enable Dr. Lewis Hanke, director of the Hispanic Foundation, to spend a considerable portion of his time during the year beginning September 15 on research in Latin-American colonial history. He is working on a new edition of the *Historia de las Indias* of Bartolomé de Las Casas, which will be brought out in Mexico City by the Fondo de Cultura Económica. The latter portion of the year will be devoted to the editing of an unpublished history of the great silver mine of Potosí during the colonial period.

Vanderbilt University announces the establishment of the Institute for Brazilian Studies beginning in September, 1947. The Institute offers graduate instruction leading to the degrees of master of arts and doctor of philosophy, and an undergraduate program which can be included in the baccalaureate courses of study.

Under date of June, 1947, the Institute of Historical Research, London, published Theses Supplement No. 9. The first thirteen pages list the masters' and doctors' theses completed between 1940 and 1945 with publisher and year of publication given for those already published. The remaining twelve pages give the titles of theses in progress. The totals are 128 masters' theses and 115 doctors' dissertations. A check of all entries, both completed and in progress, shows five that touch the history of the United States. One is a master's thesis at Durham on the Cleveland iron and steel industries; another master's thesis at Sheffield on Anglo-American relations during the Spanish-American War; one at London on American territorial history, 1783 to 1861; and the fourth, under the direction of Pro-

fessor R. H. Tawney, is a doctor's dissertation (London) on the East Anglian emigration to America. A master's thesis at Birmingham is on the reception of the American constitution in Britain. Marginal is a doctor's dissertation at Edinburgh on the Dunkers. Of the sixteen doctors' dissertations dealing directly with the dominions and colonies, seven are in the field of Indian history, two are on Canada, and three on South and West Africa. Of the fourteen masters' theses touching the Empire and Commonwealth, four concern India. Besides titles, names of candidates, and universities the name of the sponsoring professor is given in most instances.

The prewar practice of holding an annual Anglo-American conference of historians in London was revived on July 5, 1947, when a one-day meeting was held at the Institute of Historical Research under the chairmanship of Sir Charles Webster. Six papers dealing with recent and projected work in British and European history were read. They will be printed in the forthcoming number of the Institute's *Bulletin*. A representative Anglo-American historical committee was elected by the conference, the success of which has encouraged the committee to plan a more ambitious conference lasting two days and a half, to be held in the new building of the Institute, July 8-10, 1948. The tentative program provides for a session on medieval history with four papers, on North American history with four papers, and on modern European history since 1648 with four papers. There will be a general session on the topic "Historians in the Making" dealing with the training of graduate students and the professional aspects of research. The English committee would be glad to hear from scholars in America who will be in England this coming summer and interested in attending the conference. They may communicate directly with Sir Charles Webster, University of London, Senate House, London, W.C.1.

The Society for the History of the Revolution of 48, the Modern History Society, and the Committee on Historical Studies are planning to hold a historical congress in Paris from March 30 to April 4 to mark the one hundredth anniversary of the Revolutions of 1848. The secretariat of the conference would appreciate hearing, as quickly as possible, from persons and learned societies who desire to participate in the program. Further information can be obtained by writing to the Secrétariat du Congrès Historique du Centenaire de 48, 96, Boulevard Raspail, Paris 5.

The Paul Teleki Danubian Research Institute devoted to the comparative history, literature, and social and economic problems of the Danubian countries was established in 1941 and reorganized in 1945. Its membership is based on the possession of a higher degree, two languages in addition to Hungarian, and a special interest in one of the countries of southeastern Europe. The services of the society and its membership are available for consultation to anyone interested in the Danubian area. The historical section or department of the Institute is in charge

of Mr. J. Szentkirályi, Budapest 8, Hungary. The Institute sponsors the publication of the *Revue d'histoire comparée*, a quarterly now in its twenty-fifth year.

Domus Galilaeana, an institute founded at Pisa in 1941 to co-ordinate the studies and research on the life and works of Galileo, has in its library an extensive collection of the books published on Galileo's works plus many manuscripts still unexploited. The institute also publishes a number of series dealing with mathematics, physics, and the history of science.

Plans are being laid for the commemoration in 1948 of the Sicilian Revolution of 1848. The secretary of the committee is Professor Gaetano Falzone, Via Marlo Rapisardi, 16, Palermo, Italy. Those interested are invited to communicate with Professor Falzone.

The Library of the Institute of National Memory, 46-48 Krakowskie przedmiescie, Warsaw, wishes to originate international exchanges in respect to its quarterly review *Dzieje najnowsze* dealing with modern Polish history. It is particularly interested in exchanging with libraries and institutions in Czechoslovakia, the United Kingdom, the United States, Belgium, Italy, France, Switzerland, and the USSR.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

Louis B. Wright of the research staff of the Huntington Library has accepted the directorship of the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington. Dr. Wright will enter on his new duties July 1, 1948.

Vivian Hunter Galbraith, director of the Institute of Historical Research in the University of London, has been appointed Regius professor of modern history in Oxford University in succession to F. M. Powicke, who has retired under the age limit.

West Virginia University announces the retirement of Charles H. Ambler as professor of history and the appointment of Festus P. Summers as head of the department of history. John D. Carter has been appointed assistant professor of history. Sara R. Smith and William D. Barns have been promoted to the rank of assistant professor.

Edward Maslin Hulme, professor emeritus of history at Stanford University, served during the past semester as visiting lecturer in medieval history, Renaissance, and Reformation at the University of Nevada.

Rockwell D. Hunt, dean emeritus of the graduate school of the University of Southern California, has accepted an invitation to be visiting professor of California history at the College of the Pacific, Stockton.

Richard Harrison Shryock of the University of Pennsylvania is on leave of absence this year to devote his time to research and writing.

After four years as adviser in the Department of State David Harris has returned to Stanford University as professor of modern European history. In the same institution Anatole G. Mazour, formerly of the University of Nevada, has been appointed associate professor of Russian history, Rixford Snyder has been promoted to associate professor, James C. Stone and Wilbur R. Jacobs have been appointed instructors on the staff of Western Civilization, John J. Johnson has been promoted from acting assistant professor to assistant professor of history, and Arthur Wright has been named acting assistant professor of history.

In addition to his regular duties as professor of history in Cornell College, Iowa, Eric C. Kollman has accepted an invitation to supervise some graduate research and conduct a graduate seminar in later modern European history in the State University of Iowa during the current academic year.

Visiting professors of history at Mount Holyoke College are Laurence B. Packard for the current academic year and Vincent M. Scramuzza for the second semester.

Carlton C. Qualey, professor of American history in Carleton College, was appointed superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society last July. Dr. Qualey succeeds Arthur J. Larsen, who resigned to accept a commission in the Air Corps of the regular army of the United States.

F. Clever Bald, who has been on the staff of the Michigan Historical Collections since 1945 as university war historian, has been appointed assistant director of the collections. He will continue to give part of his time to writing the history of the University of Michigan in the war.

Bayrd Still, formerly of Duke University, has gone to New York University as professor of history.

Edward McN. Burns and L. Ethan Ellis have been promoted to the rank of professor of history in Rutgers University. Henry R. Winkler has been appointed assistant professor of history in the same institution.

The University of Pittsburgh announces the promotion of Oliver W. Elsbree

to professor of history and of Benjamin H. Mount, jr., and John Christiano to assistant professors of history.

The department of history of the Catholic University of America announces the promotion of the Reverend John Tracy Ellis to full professor, Dr. Manoel S. Cardozo to associate professor, and Sister Marie Carolyn Klinkhamer and the Reverend Carleton M. Sage to assistant professors.

Edward A. Doehler, formerly of Loyola College, Baltimore, is now professor of history in Mt. St. Agnes College in Mt. Washington, Baltimore.

Sylvester John Hemleben, of the War Department Historical Branch, Chemical Corps, and formerly of Fordham University, has been appointed professor of history in Southwestern Louisiana Institute, Lafayette.

Harold W. Thatcher has accepted appointment as professor and head of the department of history at Wilkes College, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania.

The California Institute of Technology has added the following members to its history staff for 1947-1948: Rodman W. Paul, of Harvard, as associate professor; Henry F. McCreery, of Stanford University, as assistant professor; and George K. Tanham, of Stanford, as instructor. John A. Schutz has been promoted to the rank of assistant professor. J. E. Wallace Sterling, Harkness professor of history and government, was granted a leave of absence and accepted an appointment as professor of history at the National War College for the fall term.

Earl H. Pritchard, of Wayne University, is spending the current academic year at the University of Chicago as visiting associate professor of Far Eastern history.

Ralph Adams Brown, who has been assistant editor and more recently acting editor of *Social Education*, has accepted an appointment as professor of American history and chairman of the social studies department at the State Teachers College, Cortland, New York.

Maurice W. Armstrong, professor of history at Ursinus College, has been appointed head of the department of history and political science, succeeding Elizabeth B. White, who retired July 1.

Truesdell S. Brown, formerly of the University of Texas, has gone to the University of California at Los Angeles as lecturer in history for 1947-1948.

Dorothy M. Quynn is visiting lecturer in history at Goucher College for the current academic year.

At Smith College Max Salvadori has been appointed visiting lecturer in history and Peter Viereck assistant professor of Russian history.

Richard H. Heindel, formerly chief of the division of libraries and institutes in the Department of State, has been appointed to the professional staff of the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

Raymond O. Rockwood has been promoted to professor of history and Marvin Wachman to assistant professor of history in Colgate University.

The department of history of Northwestern University announces the appointment of Richard M. Brace, formerly of the University of Colorado, as associate professor of European history, George Romani as instructor in European history, and Alfred Rockefeller, jr., as instructor in American history.

Courtney Robert Hall has been appointed resident head of the department of history and political science at Sampson College, one of the Associated Colleges of Upper New York.

Roger Shaw has gone to Trinity College as professor of international relations.

Norman D. Palmer, formerly chairman of the department of history and government at Colby College, has been appointed associate professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania.

William L. Winter, formerly of the University of Oregon, is now associate professor of history at Colorado Agricultural and Mechanical College, Fort Collins.

The University of Louisville announces the appointment of Sidney D. Terr as associate professor and Grant Hicks and Rodney Lee Wells as assistant professors of history.

Marshall Clagett, formerly instructor in history at Columbia University, has been appointed assistant professor of the history of science at the University of Wisconsin.

C. Norman Guice has accepted a position as assistant professor of history in Wayne University.

Byron Banta has been appointed assistant professor of history at Missouri Valley College, Marshall.

William F. Church, formerly of the University of Kentucky, has been appointed assistant professor of history in Brown University.

The University of Colorado announces the appointment of Robert G. Athearn as instructor in history and R. John Rath, formerly of the University of Georgia, as associate professor.

Harriet H. Shoen will serve as head of the department of history, Davis and Elkins College, Elkins, West Virginia.

W. Turrentine Jackson has been appointed assistant professor of history at the University of Chicago, where he will begin his duties in the spring quarter of 1948.

Ira V. Brown, formerly of Mary Baldwin College, and Joseph H. Dahmus, formerly of St. John's University, Brooklyn, have been appointed instructors in history at the Pennsylvania State College.

Robert Lacour-Gayet has been appointed lecturer in the School of Education of New York University, where he is conducting a course on the history of French civilization.

Charles Hapgood has been appointed instructor in history in Springfield College, Massachusetts.

RECENT DEATHS

Andrew Cunningham McLaughlin died at his home in Chicago on September 24, 1947, at the age of eighty-six. From 1889, when he first read a paper before the American Historical Association, until 1941, when for the last time he attended its annual meeting, he was identified prominently with its activities, serving often on its committees, as an influential member of its Council for many years, and as its president in 1914. He was on the board of editors of the *American Historical Review* for sixteen years and was its managing editor from 1901 to 1905. Both the Committee of Seven in the late 1890's and the Committee of Five about a decade later, whose published recommendations of changes in the history curriculum of the secondary schools were widely adopted, were under his chairmanship. He organized the Bureau of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution in Washington. As its first director he supervised the search for materials on American history in archives both at home and abroad, published a report on the diplomatic archives of the Department of State, 1789-1840, and was the chief compiler of the *Writings on American History*, 1903.

Trained in the classics and the law at the University of Michigan, he was a member of its history faculty for nineteen years, beginning in 1887. In 1906 he succeeded Dr. J. Franklin Jameson as head of the department of history in the University of Chicago and shortly thereafter added to his duties the chairmanship

of the department of church history. For thirty years at Chicago he was an outstanding member of a large university faculty, a much beloved teacher and colleague, and a leader, with Mrs. McLaughlin, of social welfare work within his community. Although he resigned his departmental chairmanships in 1927 and became professor emeritus two years later, he continued to meet his classes in constitutional history until 1936. In that year, when he was seventy-five, his *A Constitutional History of the United States* was awarded the Pulitzer prize in history.

This volume is probably the best known of all Professor McLaughlin's writings. Although it contains much of fact and interpretation that he had not published before, it is above all a compact summary and integration of viewpoints developed more at length in his earlier works. Its chapters with their emphasis upon political compact, constitutional convention, sovereignty, federalism, judicial review, the political party, and similar subjects are signposts pointing back along the paths which Professor McLaughlin by his research and writing had been clearing across the terrain of American constitutional history for almost a half century, even as far back as his two earliest volumes on the development of education and civil government in Michigan, and his biography of Lewis Cass, published in 1891.

The progress of his research between the completion of these local studies and the appearance of his general constitutional history forty-five years later was marked by the publication of a score of articles and eight books, not including two widely used American history texts, the three volumes of *The Cyclopaedia of American Government* edited and in part written by him and Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, and several other volumes of which he was co-author or co-editor. Prominent among these writings for their originality of viewpoint and depth of scholarship were his *The Confederation and the Constitution, 1783-1789* (1905), *The Courts, the Constitution and Parties* (1912), *Steps in the Development of American Democracy* (1920), *The Foundations of American Constitutionalism* (1932), "Social Compact and Constitutional Construction," *American Historical Review*, April, 1900, and "The Background of American Federalism," *American Political Science Review*, May, 1918.

The central theme of United States history, as Professor McLaughlin understood it—the theme that runs through most that he wrote and taught—was expressed succinctly at the close of his presidential address before the American Historical Association in 1914, "The history of a popular state must be no other, at its inmost heart, than the story of the attempt to become and remain a popular state." Always more interested in ideas and institutions than in men and events, he was at his best when tracing, from seventeenth century England through the colonial period and into the stream of our national life and thought, the evolution of concepts, practices, and governmental forms basic to American constitutionalism. His research impressed him with the importance of the continuities rather than the catastrophes in history, with the persistence across the centuries of fundamental

problems of government, unchanging in their essence, and with the fact that institutions of lasting value and influence are the product of long years of painful development, not of sudden inspiration or of revolution. He strongly believed that the continuance of a democratic society depended upon a willingness of each of its members to render public service and to inform himself of the debt which his generation owed to its predecessors. For this reason and with these convictions he devoted a long lifetime to the teaching and writing of American history. Many hundreds of his former students the world around will attest that he made the past serve both his own day and their future.

John Bassett Moore, the distinguished authority on international law and diplomatic history, died November 12 in his eighty-sixth year. Many honors had come to him both from the Americas and abroad. His publications were voluminous. Among others, he was editor of the works of President James Buchanan in twelve volumes. He had served on both the Permanent Court of Arbitration in the Hague and 1921 to 1928 on the Permanent Court of International Justice, being the first American elected to the latter. He was professor of international law and diplomacy in Columbia University from 1891 to 1924. He served on many diplomatic missions and was Assistant Secretary of State by appointment of President Woodrow Wilson.

Sister Mary Celeste Leger, R.S.M., chairman of the division of the social sciences, St. Xavier College, Chicago, died August 18 at Mercy Hospital, Chicago, after a short illness. She was sixty-three. A member of this Association and of other societies in the field of history and the social sciences, she was a successful writer of textbooks and an effective teacher of teachers in the social sciences.

Hayes Baker-Crothers died on June 29, 1947. He had been a professorial lecturer in American University since 1945. A graduate of Monmouth College, Illinois, he took both his master's and doctor's degrees at the University of Wisconsin. His previous teaching service had been in Simmons College, Dartmouth, and the University of Maryland.

The Honorable Abram Elkus, former ambassador to Turkey (1916-19) and a life member of this Association, died on October 15 in his eighty-first year.

The *Review* has received notices of the deaths of the following members who were active in teaching or known for their scholarly work: Colonel Donald B. Sanger of the University of San Francisco, on February 10; Donald C. Babcock, of the department of history, University of New Hampshire, June 13; William B. Hatcher, professor of American history, University of Louisiana, April 3; and Edward Davis, professor of American history, East Central State College, Ada, Oklahoma.

As this issue goes to press word has come of the sudden death on December 9 of Professor Winfred T. Root of the University of Iowa. A more adequate notice will appear in the April issue.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor Max Savelle's article, "The Appearance of an American Attitude toward External Affairs, 1750-1775," in the July 1947 issue of the *Review*, presents this conclusion: "But the most significant fact that emerges from all the discussion, perhaps, is that the American people, divided though they were, were moving steadily and surely toward a national self-consciousness, though always, be it said, demanding only to be the first-born in a closely knit British family of autonomous states."

The expressions "national self-consciousness," "American people," and "first-born" suggest that Mr. Savelle had in mind the United States as a whole. He said in effect that the American people, about 1775, demanded only that their national union be "the first-born in a closely knit British family" of nations.

In presenting this conclusion, Mr. Savelle presumably had in mind the modern British Commonwealth of Nations. But what American, prior to 1775, foresaw that the modern Commonwealth would come into being in the far distant future? Australia and New Zealand were unknown to the American colonists and were in 1775 without benefit of a single British settler. The British had not yet acquired South Africa. The leaders of the American Revolution did not think of Canada as a future sister state in a "closely knit British family" of nations. Instead, they hoped to incorporate Canada into the Union as the fourteenth state.

Mr. Savelle's statement describes a "demand" of certain people today, not the demand of the Americans of 1775. The statement seems to serve a present political interest by imputing to the founders of the republic the current aspirations of those partisans of Britain who hope that the United States will become only a member, even though the "first-born," of a "closely knit British family" of nations.

Whatever the merits of "Union Now" and other plans for Anglo-American unification, the historian is not entitled to ascribe to people of the past a view which they could not have held, unless they were gifted with miraculous foresight. If proof is needed of the attitude of the Americans of 1775, the Declaration certainly speaks with more authority than any statement cited by Mr. Savelle. "We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends."

May Washington be accurately described as "always" "demanding" that the United States be "only" the "first-born in a closely knit British family of autonomous states"? "The nation," he wrote, "which indulges toward another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and interest."

Cornell University

CURTIS P. NETTELS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I should like to assure Professor Curtis Nettels that I did not have in mind "the United States as a whole" when I spoke of "the American people" in my article that appeared in the July issue of the *American Historical Review*; for the

United States did not exist in the period discussed there. I meant the people living in the British colonies in America, including the British West Indies but excluding the colonies just acquired from France and Spain. And, since Professor Nettels appears to be interested, I should like to assure him that I do not "hope that the United States will become only a member" of the British Commonwealth of Nations; nor do I favor "Union Now."

I should, however, like to applaud Professor Nettels' pronouncement that "the historian is not entitled to ascribe to people of the past a view which they could not have held, unless they were gifted with miraculous foresight." For I subscribe heartily to this principle, as well as to the principle that scholars should not read into a document (or an article) something that is not there. These two principles should surely be basic in all critical scholarship.

Historically, I think, the fact is that the Americans (British-Americans, if you prefer) were not thinking in terms of a "United States" until driven to it in desperation. On the contrary, it appears to me that the thoughtful Americans who represented the American "Whig" position in the third quarter of the eighteenth century—men like Benjamin Franklin, Richard Bland, Patrick Henry, Samuel Adams, and others—were beginning to conceive of the colonies as emerging sovereign, or quasi-sovereign, states that derived their sovereignty from the fact that they were founded, in the first place, as new societies in a new land, outside of Britain. This idea forced them logically then to consider the relationship between these incipient states and their mother country; and the Americans' conclusion was that though the parts of the empire all had the same king, they had separate, sovereign parliaments, and that, taken all together, they constituted a sort of British federation of states.

Space allows me only two quotations to show you what I mean:
From Benjamin Franklin:

The more I have thought and read on the subject, the more I find myself confirmed in opinion, that no middle doctrine can be well maintained, I mean not clearly with intelligible arguments. Something might be made of either of the extremes; that Parliament has a power to make *all laws* for us, or that it has a power to make *no laws* for us; and I think the arguments for the latter more numerous and weighty, than those for the former. Supposing that doctrine established, the colonies would then be so many separate states, only subject to the same king, as England and Scotland were before the union. [J. Sparks, ed., *The Works of Benjamin Franklin*, VII, 391-92.]

Richard Bland was still more clear and emphatic:

Men in a State of Nature are absolutely free and independent of one another as to sovereign Jurisdiction, but when they enter into a Society, and by their own Consent become Members of it, they must submit to the Laws of the Society according to which they agree to be governed. . . . But though they must submit to the Laws, so long as they remain Members of the Society, yet they retain so much of their natural Freedom as to have a Right to retire from the Society, . . . to enter into another Society, and to Settle in another Country. . . .

Now when men exercise this Right . . . they recover their natural Freedom and Independence: the Jurisdiction and Sovereignty of the State they have quitted ceases; and if they unite, and by common Consent take Possession of a new Country, and form themselves into a political Society, they become a sovereign State, independent of the State from which they separated. . . .

From this Detail of the Charters, and other Acts of the Crown, under which the first

Colony in *North America* [Virginia] was established, it is evident that "the Colonists . . ." [have always] had a regular Government . . . and were respected as a distinct State, independent, as to their *internal* Government, of the original Kingdom, but united with her, as to their *external* Polity. . . ." [Richard Bland, *An Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies* (1776), reprint, edited by Earl G. Swem (Richmond, 1922), pp. 9-10, 14, 20].

There were many such statements between 1766 and 1776. It was only when England refused to recognize this principle of the exclusive power of local legislation within the empire, and attempted to enforce her refusal by military action, that the Americans went on, with great reluctance, to their only alternative, which was independence. If their demand for autonomy within the empire reads like a foreshadowing of the modern British Commonwealth, I cannot help it. The important fact is that the Americans of the period 1750-1775 were not thinking of independence, and that they apparently did not desire it until the last moment. Had England acceded to their demand for autonomy within the empire, they would indeed have been "the first-born in a closely knit British family of autonomous states" without in any way "foreseeing" the modern British Commonwealth. But it would probably have been a "multiple birth," since there would have been little reason for organizing themselves into the United States of America or anything like it.

University of Washington

MAX SAVELLE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Felix Gilbert says modestly that his very useful and-enlightening article, "German Historiography during the Second World War" (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, October, 1947), is a preliminary survey. But I think that because of the great difficulties in obtaining information he was not able to mention some important and characteristic publications. Therefore, an attempt may be made to call attention to a few of them, without pretending to be exhaustive.

Gilbert characterizes well the work of the Nazi Foundation, the "Reichsinstitut für Geschichte des Neuen Deutschlands." This continued also during the war to publish its volumes *Forschungen zur Judenfrage*. As the Basel Protestant theologian, Karl Ludwig Schmidt, has noted (*Die Judenfrage im Lichte der Kapitel 9-11 des Römerbriefes* [2d ed., Zurich, 1947], p. 52), these volumes contain, despite their obviously biased character which provides insight into "the pathological state" (Gilbert) of the Third Reich, valuable material for the critical reader.

Besides these, there have been published many works of traditional academic historical scholarship. An enumeration, which is incomplete, is contained in *Neuerscheinungen der Deutschen Wissenschaftlichen Literatur von 1939-1945*, Teil II (Herausgegeben von der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität in Bonn, Bonn, 1946). There are, for example, E. Eichmann's two volumes on *Die Kaiserkrönung im Abendland* (Würzburg, 1942) and Percy E. Schramm's *Der König von Frankreich* (Weimar, 1939). There are books by Karl Brandt, *Gegenreformation und Religionskriege* (Leipzig, 1941), *Die deutsche Reformation* (Leipzig, 1941). The Catholic Church historian, Joseph Lortz, has presented a very objective analysis of *Die Reformation in Deutschland* (Fribourg, 1941). Friedrich Meinecke brought out the first part of his memoirs, *Erlebtes 1862-1901* (Leipzig, 1941).

It is characteristic of the fears prevailing in the Third Reich that in the field

of the modern history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, no works have been published comparable to those devoted to the ancient world, as, for example, Franz Altheim's *Italien und Rom*, Bd. 1, 2 (Amsterdam, 1943); *Rom und der Hellenismus* (Amsterdam, 1942); *Die Soldatenkaiser* (Frankfurt, 1939). In Bismarck literature the volume of Wolfgang Windelband, *Bismarck und die Europäischen Grossmächte 1879-1885* (Essen, 1940), is the most outstanding one.

Surprisingly, the study of Russian and Slavic history flourished, and did not even suffer too much from dependence upon Nazi policies, despite a conspicuous bias in some works. Professor Fritz Lieb, whom the Russians have appointed as professor of Eastern church history at the University of Berlin, gives a survey of this literature in the *Theologische Zeitschrift* (Basel, 1946).

Hans von Eckardt, *Iwan der Schreckliche* (Frankfurt, 1941), may even be quoted as an indirect attempt to criticize fundamental features of the Nazi regime. In this class two volumes by Alfred von Martin, *Burkhardt und Nietzsche* and *Die Religion Jakob Burkhardts*, and Gerhard Ritter's *Machstaat und Utopie. Vom Streit um d. Dämonie d. Macht seit Machiavelli u. Morus* (3d and 4th ed., Berlin, 1943), became most known. Von Martin uses Burkhardt's antagonism against Nietzsche, and Ritter uses the description of Machiavelli's discovery of the demoniacal character of power politics to make statements which were understood as veiled polemics against the Nazi attitudes.

Finally, it may be mentioned that despite all poisoning by Nazi propaganda and education, there are some younger German historians from whom we may expect much more than technically valuable contributions. I name only two—Michael Freund, today at the University of Freiburg, whose great study of the English Revolution is almost completed, and the medievalist, Spoerl.

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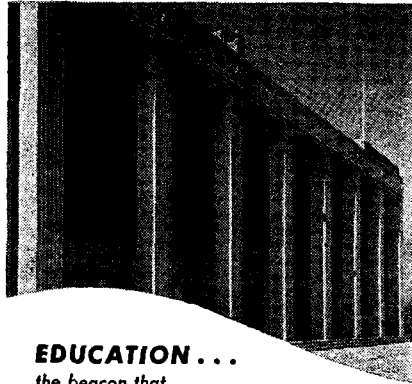
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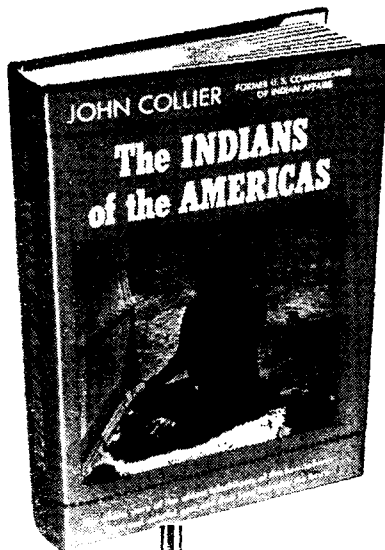
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